

THE
SOCIAL HISTORY
OF
KAMARUPA

Vol. III

BY

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& c. & c. & c.*



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Preface to Volume III

Sometime ago, I heard a Kirtan song, in the morning and evening, at the house of my neighbour and friend, Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineshchandra Sen. I had occasion to hear exactly similar songs at some places in Orissa. I was at first struck and thought that the singer might have hailed from Orissa too. To my astonishment I came to learn that the singer is not an inhabitant of Utkala, but a learned Kayastha gentleman hailing from Kāmarupa. His style of Nāma-kīrtan and his mode of expressing feelings roused my curiosity to such a degree that I thought the coincidence almost a puzzling affair ; for how could there be such a unanimity of nāma-kīrtan in two distant places as Utkala and Kāmarupa ? With all the slight variation of intonation and the manner of singing, the kīrtan seems to pass for one and the same. It sets me further thinking how the relation stands good for one. Has Kāmarupa initiated Utkala or Utkala initiated Kamarupa ? My first reasoning forced me to think that probably Sankaradeva, the great religious reformer of Kāmarupa went to Utkala and brought with him manners of singing kīrtan from that country. But after going through the Vaishnava literature of Utkala, I came to the conclusion that through the influence of Mahāprabhu Sri Chaitanyadeva, kirtan songs were introduced in Utkala ; that before Sri Chaitanya, Sankardeva used to sing kirtans at Kamarupa and before his time kirtan songs were sung there. Under these circumstances, it can be asserted that kirtans had been in vogue at Kamarupa before they were known in Utkala. But why should there be similarity between kirtans in these two different places ?

How the Brahmanas from Kamarupa, Srihatta or Vanga migrated to Utkala and settled there, and how ancient kings of Kamarupa ruled not only Kamarupa and Gauḍa but the whole of Utkala as well with a high-hand for a pretty long time I tried my best to explain.

After the publication of The Social History of Kamarupa (1st and 2nd parts) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and my friend Babu Jogendrachandra Ghosh discussed about Prāchya Nāgar Brahmanas and Kāyasthas and the conclusion they arrived at in their respective treatises and the newly discovered copper-plate of Bhauma kings, has brought in, I frankly admit, new light to discuss it anew. In the 3rd part I elaborately discussed all those points.

When the 1st and 2nd parts were published, I could not ascertain what was the cause of the great influence of ancient Kamarupa Rajas from the coast of the Pacific Ocean in the east to the boundary of Magadha on the west and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency in the south. Not only the influences of the Rajas of Kamarupa was felt in those provinces, but with them the customs, manners and ideals of Brahmanas, who went with them were felt greatly. And remnants of these customs, manners and ideals are still seen prevalent there.

With the advent of the Bhauma dynasty, their protegee, the Nagara Brāhmans went to Gauḍa and Utkala to spread their sacred literature, manners, and customs in those places. This can easily be proved by the unamity of customs, literature, style and intonation among the people living in those places. Again, with the advent of Muhammadan administration, Muhammadan manners and customs were introduced in Bengal and the customs and manners of Bhauma period

became almost extinct. But in Kāmarupa and Utkala instances of old influences of Bhauma rulers and their advisors can be seen even now. When Utkala and Kāmarupa were independent, no outside influence could enter there. Now, with the spread of Western Education the languages of both the places have become artificial to some extent. Ideals almost entirely changed and the old intimacy between the two countries have gradually been impaired to a narrower limit and people of both the countries are going to forget their old friendly relation-ship.

I have tried my best to write out the present volume, bearing in mind the happiest harmony which once prevailed between the two countries. The pen-picture of unification of the above countries in the light of the eastern ideal into one homogeneous whole to build a nation is very striking too.

After the publication of the 2nd Volume, complaints from some of the Kāmarupa Kayastha Samaja came to me that I have left out the history of some of the important ancient Kāyastha families altogether and the Social History of the Kayastha Samaja there could not be complete without the record of those families. Over and above, no such history could be complete without narrating the history of the devout Śāktas of Kāmākhyā - one of the 51 Pīṭhas of Tantrika fame and also of other devotees of Śākta cult. In this connection, I have to deal with the Brāhmanas of Śākta cult and of Śākadvipi Brahmanas who were established by Ahom kings of Assam. Of course I frankly admit that to write out a proper history of Śākta and Śākadvipi Brahmanas and the Kayasthas honoured by Ahom Rāj prompted me to write out this volume. But the history of the

Bhauma aynasty and their dependant Nāgar Brahmans and also accounts of some ancient Kayastha families having taken a good many pages, I could not do justice to some useful and important topics. Only in appendix III I narrated genealogy of the remaining Kāmarupa-Kayastha Samaja and in Appendix IV I described within a small compass the status of Raj family of Gauripur. If I be fortunate to write out the 4th Volume of this history I shall try my best to complete the Social History of Kāmarupa Sākta and Sakadvipi and other important Samājas to my satisfaction

At the request of some Kāmarupi friends, I used in this Volume the Assamese characters in place of Nāgarī.

Lastly, I like to say a few words regarding the personal inconveniences under which I was placed when publishing this volume. With my ailing body I had to compose the book at intervals and when it was in the press I had to suffer much from heart troubles. Twice my illness proved so serious that my friends and relatives despaired of my life. But by the grace of Almighty God, I was fortunate enough to see the 3rd volume out which I never expected. Under these circumstances, I hope my readers will excuse my many failings and shortcomings.

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NAGENDRANATH VASU

15—8—33

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THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF KAMARUPA

Vol. III

CHAPTER I

THE BHAUMA DYNASTY IN EASTERN INDIA.

The first volume of this work was published nine years ago, but it was actually written more than a year prior to the date of its publication. Since then many stone and copper-plate inscriptions have come to light providing opportunities for a fuller investigation into the problems of the social and ethnological history of Eastern India. What is the nucleus of the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣayastha communities of the modern Kamarupa? What indissoluble ties bound them to the entire Eastern India from time immemorial? It will be my endeavour to answer these questions in the light of the materials that are available now.

The aristocracy of modern Kamarupa admit only the influence of the culture of Mithilā on their country, but the data which we now possess conclusively prove that at one time there was a very close inter-relation between Kama-

New light
on the
history of
Kamarupa.

Kamarupa
not an
isolated
territory.

rupa and Gauḍa-Vaṅga. Besides Gauḍa, Kāmarupa entered into a very close association with Uḍra and Kalinga. From the contemporary epigraphic records we come to know that the Bhauma dynasty or the dynasty of Bhagadatta ruled for many years with absolute power not only over Pragjyotiṣa but also over Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala. The inscriptions found in many places in Orissa contain accounts of their rule for over four hundred years.

The Bhauma
dynasty in
Eastern
India.

How the Bhauma dynasty of Kāmarupa extended its sway first to Gauḍa and then to the whole of Orissa is a story which no one has yet attempted to tell. It is essential that there should be an enquiry into the principles of social ethics that were evolved as a result of the merging of the manners, customs, usages and culture that were prevalent among the upper classes of the several countries that came under the rule of the Bhauma dynasty. A discussion of this subject will make it clear how the earlier standards of society were considerably modified not only in Kāmarupa but also in Gauḍa and Kalinga and how the various communities of Kāmarupa and Orissa still bear the stamp of that age of cultural union.

Eastern
India on
the eve of
the rise of
Bhaskara-
varma.

The emergence of Bhaskaravarma, the Lord of Pragjyotiṣa, marks a new era in the history of Eastern India. It is necessary to survey the political condition and to note the territorial divisions of the country before the rise of Bhaskaravarma. Sometime between 636 and 645. A.D. the Chinese traveller

Yuang Chuang visited Eastern India. It was then divided into the following provinces :

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Magadha 5,000 li | 6. Kamarupa, more |
| 2. Irina or Hiranya-
parvata 3,000 li | than 10,000 li |
| 3. Champa 4,000 li | 7. Samataṭa 3,000 li |
| 4. Kayangala 2,000 li | 8. Tamralipti 1,400 li |
| 5. Puṇḍravardhana | 9. Karnaśuvārṇa 4,450 li |
| 10. Uḍra 7,000 li | |
| 4,000 li | 11. Kongoda 1,000 li |

At the time of Emperor Harṣavardhana, the first five out of the above eleven provinces were held by the Guptas, Kamarupa was ruled by Bhaskaravarma of the Bhagadatta or Bhauma dynasty, Samataṭa or East Bengal by Rajabhaṭa and Karnaśuvārṇa or the Raḍha country, Kongoda or Kalinga and Uḍra were the dominions of the king Saśanka.

In the Harṣa-charita we find a General called Siṅhanada speaking to Harṣavardhana as follows :—

“দেব দেবভূয়ং গতে নবেদ্রে চষ্টগৌড়ভূজঙ্গজজীবিতে চ
বাক্যবর্জনে বৃন্তেহস্মিন্ মহাপ্রলয়ে ধবলী ধাবণায়াদুনাৎ শেষঃ।”

‘Lord Rajyavardhana has been murdered by Narendra a wicked serpent of Gauḍa.’ The Chinese traveller Yuang Chuang gives the following account of the murder of Rajyavardhana—“After the death of Prabhakaravardhana, Rajyavardhana (the elder brother of Harṣavardhana) ascending the throne ably governed his territories. At this time Saśanka, the king of Karnaśuvārṇa was reigning over Eastern India. His ministers used to warn him that evil would befall his kingdom if the province situated at its boundaries came to be ruled by a virtuous king.

Narendra
Gupta and
Saśanka
Deva,

Thereupon he invited Rajyavardhana to his kingdom. There the latter was assassinated." According to the testimony of Harṣa-charita, already referred to, Rajyavardhana met his death at the hands of Narendra, the ruler of Gauḍa, whereas the Chinese pilgrim tells us that he was treacherously put to death by Saṅka, king of Karnasuvarṇa. The following words, uttered by Bhaṇḍi, occur in another place in Harṣa-charita :—

“দেবভূয়ং গতে দেবে রাজ্যবর্ধনে শুপ্তনায়া চ গৃহীতে
কুণ্ডলে”

‘When the godlike Rajyavardhana was transported to the abode of the Immortals, Kuṣasthala or Kanauj was occupied by a person bearing the name Gupta.’ In the opinion of the late R. D. Banerjee Saṅka was a scion of the Gupta dynasty and a son of Mahasena Gupta and was also known as Narendra Gupta¹. But the inscriptions and the coins, discovered up till now, do not furnish any evidence in support of the theory that Narendra Gupta and Saṅka were one and the same person.² We do not come across the

(1) Banglar Itihasa, Vol. II, pp. 104-105.

(2) R. D. Banerjee goes still further to say—‘Vāna-bhatta expected favours from the royal family of Sthaneshvara and Yuang Chuang obtained presents and various kinds of help from Harsavardhana. Besides, the Chinese traveller was a sworn enemy of the Brahmins. For these reasons his account of the death of Rajyavardhana is untrustworthy. Most probably Sasanka attacked Rajyavardhana with a large army and after having defeated him made him a prisoner and put him to death’ (Banglar Itihasa, Vol. II, p. 107). But the two copper-plate inscriptions of Harsavardhana state as follows :—

title 'Gupta' or the name "Narendra" along with the name 'Saṅka' in the Rohtasgarh seal of Saṅka, the Copper-plate inscription of his Mahasamanta Madhavavarman or in any of his scions. He has always been mentioned as Saṅka Deva.

The distinguished orientalist Dr. Bühler says, 'In one of the Manuscript copies of the "Harṣa-charita the name of the murderer of Rajyavardhana is given as Narendra Gupta"³.

The king of Malava had killed Rajyavardhana's brother-in-law Grahavarman, the Maukhari chief and made his sister Rajyasri a prisoner. On receipt of the news Rajyavardhana marched forth with 10000 quick-footed soldiers and defeated the king of Malava. It was probably at this time that Narendra Gupta, the king of Gauda, apparently seeking the friendship of the victorious Rajyavardhana invited him to his camp and put him to death at the counsel of Saṅka Deva, who was his principal Samanta. From a study of the Harṣa-charita we come to know that on ascending the throne, Harṣavardhana regarded it as his first and foremost duty to pursue his brother's murderer and to

"উৎপত্তয় দ্বিষতো বিজিত্য বহুধা কৃত্বা প্রজানাং প্রিয়"

প্রাপ্যনুজিতব নবাশ্রিতবনে সত্যমুপোদধন যঃ ।"

'Rajyavardhan lost his life at the residence of his enemy for the fulfilment of his promise' This contemporary evidence bears out the statements of the Chinese pilgrim and Vanabhatta. The Chinese pilgrim was never an enemy of the Brahmins. If it were so Bhaskaravarman who was a friend of the Brahmins could never have regarded him in such deep esteem as he did.

(3) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I. p. 77.

seek out his sister. The throne of Kanauj probably remained vacant after the death of the Maukharī king Grahavarman. The lines, quoted from Harṣa-charita show that Kanauj was seized by Narendra Gupta after the murder of Rajyavardhana. His friend Saśanka Deva was at that time ruling over Magadha as a feudatory chief. This is evident from the seal of Saśanka Deva found in Rohtasgarh⁴.

Harsavardhana first recovered Kanauj by defeating and killing Narendra Gupta, who was the murderer of his brother. He then assumed sovereignty and founded an era which was known by his name.

Sasanka's
rule.

Saśanka Deva's rule was at first confined to Karasavarṇa. The region extending from Magadha to Puṇḍravardhana the territory lying to the west of the Karatoya and the north of the Ganges belonged to Narendra Gupta. But when having murdered Rajyavardhana Narendra Gupta seized the throne of Kanauj with the hope of becoming an emperor, the administration and control of the territories situated between Magadha and Puṇḍravardhana must have been vested in Saśanka. After the death of Narendra Gupta all these dominions were annexed to his kingdom. Not only Gauḍa but also Uḍra, Kalinga and South Kośala came under his sway: and the rulers of these places were reckoned as his vassals. In the copper-plate inscriptions of Madhavaraja of the year 300 of the Gupta Era, Saśanka Deva has been described Maharajadhiraja and as

(4) Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 283.

THE BHARMA DYNASTY IN EASTERN INDIA.

“চতুর্ভুজসম্মিলবীচিমেষলা-নিলীন-সদ্বীপগিবিপত্তনবতী বসুন্ধরা”
 or the lord of the “whole universe including
 the four seas, the islands, the mountains and
 the cities.” In this inscription Madhavaraja
 though declaring himself the Lord of Kalinga
 regards his allegiance to Sasanka as a matter
 of pride.⁵ This gives sufficient indication
 of the extent of Sasanka’s power. We are justi-
 fied in concluding that from the year 606 A.D.
 in which Narendra Gupta was defeated and
 killed by Harsha to 620 A. D. Sasanka Deva
 was the acknowledged ruler over the whole
 of Eastern India. The fact that Sasanka was
 not connected with the Gupta dynasty by any
 ties of relationship is proved by the evidence
 furnished by his seals and coins. The coins stam-
 ped by the earlier as well as the later Guptas all
 bear the image of the goddess Kamala but the
 coins of Sasanka are marked on one side with
 the figure of Siva mounted on a bull and on
 the other with that of Kamala seated on a
 lotus.⁶ This shows that the Guptas were
 the followers of the Vaishnava religion while
 Sasanka was an adherent of Saivism.
 The image of the Kamala stamped on one
 side of the coins of Sasanka signify that the
 dominions of the Guptas had now passed into
 his hands. Though we are only familiar with
 the story of Sasanka’s hostility to the Buddhist
 religion, the splendid architectural monuments,
 relics of which still exist at Khiching and

Sasanka
 not a
 member of
 the Gupta
 dynasty.

(5) Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV, p. 143.

(6) British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta
 Dynasty, pp. 147-486.

Benusagar in the hilly regions lying in the southern part of Mayurbhanja bear testimony to his great devotion to the Saiva faith. He brought the Śakadvipi Brāhmanas belonging to the ten *gotras* to the Rāḍha country where they settled down under his patronage.⁷

The rise of Saśanka frightened even the mighty Bhaskaravarma, the king of Kamarupa. From Vāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-charita* we get the following interesting story :—

'When Harsavardhana arrived in Gauḍa with a powerful force Bhaskaravarma sent a messenger with various presents to him. The message which was delivered runs as follows :— The Lord of Prāgjyotiṣa has taken a vow that he would never bend his head before any one except the feet of Śiva. This vow can be fulfilled in either of the three ways, viz, Conquest of the whole world, 2nd Death or Alliance with such a powerful King as Harṣadeva. Harsavardhana accepted the presents of Bhaskaravarma and there grew up a deep abiding friendship between them,

(7) Bāṇar Jātiya Itihāsa, Brahmana kanda, Part I, p86.

(8) In the *Rajanyakanda* I have said that Saśanka Deva was overpowered and the king of Gauḍa killed, as a result of the combined attack of the two potentates. But on an analysis of the sequence of events it now appears to me that no friendship between Harshavardhana and Bhaskaravarma existed at the time of the Emperor's campaign against Narendragupta. When after the fall of Narendragupta, Saśanka Deva, assuming the title of the paramount ruler established his sway over the whole of Eastern India except Kamarupa, Bhaskaravarma forming an alliance with Harshavardhana marched forth in order to defeat his powerful adversary.

Harsha attacked Sasanka from the western side, while Bhaskaravarma led the attack on the eastern side. Harassed by such powerful antagonists on both sides Sasanka sought shelter in the hilly regions of Mayurbhanja. R. D. Banerjee says, "In a later stage of the battle with Harsha, Sasanka probably obtained help from the Chalukya king Pulakesi II by whom the former was defeated."⁹ This statement is not supported by any evidence.

Harshavardhan was defeated by Pulakesi¹⁰ in about 620 A. D. when Sasanka was still ruling.¹¹ It may be presumed that having met with reverses in the South Harsha set out to conquer the East with the help of Bhaskaravarma. The fight between Harsha and Sasanka probably took place between 621 and 625 A. D. Though at an earlier stage of the fight Sasanka lost the portion of his kingdom which was situated between Magadha and Karnasuvarna, he continued to rule for some time over Kalinga and Kosala. Afterwards being defeated in a battle he died in Kalinga. After the overthrow of his enemy Harsha became the Emperor of Northern India. Meanwhile, Pulakesi was advancing towards the North with a view to conquer Kalinga and Kosala and thereby reduce the power of Harsha. We find this in the Aihole inscription

Harsha
and
Pulakesi.

(9) Banglar Itihasa, Vol. II, p. 109.

(10) V.A.L. Smith, Early History of India, 3rd Edition, p. 340.

(11) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 6.

Harsha's
ascendancy
in Northern
India.

of Pulakesi. Harsha was probably absent from Kalinga when it was attacked by Pulakesi. The long war with Harsha under the leadership of Sasanka had severely taxed the resources of Kalinga and consequently it failed to offer an effective resistance to the invader. But Pulakesi's occupation of the place was, like the ravages of the Marāthas in Bengal, only temporary. At the news of Pulakesi's expedition Harsha hurriedly came to Kalinga and was able to regain possession of it. It is superfluous to say that on this occasion also Bhaskaravarma rendered valuable help to his friend. At the time when Harsha was busy setting up a stable government in Kalinga the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chuang was enjoying the hospitality of Bhaskaravarma at his capital in Kāmarupa. While returning from Kongoda Harsha came to learn that the great Chinese scholar had been staying as an honoured guest at the Court of Bhāskaravarma. From the account of the Chinese pilgrim's travels we obtain the following information :—

“At this time king Silāditya was in a district Ka-chuon-kila (Kayangal). He had been on an expedition to a country called Kung-yu-ta (Kongoda) and on his way back to Kanauj to hold a great Buddhist Council there. Hearing of the Chinese pilgrim at the court of king Kumāra, he sent a summons to the latter to repair to him with his foreign guest. Kumāra replied with a refusal saying that the king could have his head but not his guest. “I trouble you for your head,” came the prompt reply. Thereupon Kumāra became

submissive and proceeded with the pilgrim and a great retinue to join Silāditya."¹²

Near Kayangal or the modern Rajmahal Bhaskaravarma met Harshavardhana accompanied by the Chinese pilgrim. They then parted, Bhaskaravarma proceeding along the northern coast and Harshavardhana along the southern coast. They were united at Kanauj where a grand Buddhist Council and a splendid festival had been organised by the Emperor. The Chinese pilgrim was also present. At the invitation of Harsha 20 princes belonging to different parts of India attended the festival. A golden image of Buddha was carried amid a procession of 300 elephants accompanied by Harsha and the twenty kings. Dressed like Sakra or Indra, Harsha held an umbrella over the golden image, while Bhaskaravarma, in the guise of Brahma followed with a Chāmara in his hand. The latter probably dressed himself like Brahmana, as he was generally known as a Brāhmana. This grand festival was celebrated in spring in the year 644 A. D. After it was over, Harshavardhana came to Prayaga and performed the *dānasagarā*. Among those who attended the ceremony there were Bhaskaravarma accompanied by the Chinese pilgrim, and the twenty kings already mentioned as well as a large number of holy men. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the attendant Princes were all honoured according to their respective status. It was probably on this occasion that Bhaskaravarma obtained from the

The
festival
at Kanauj.

Bhaskara-
varma
rewarded.

(12) Watters, On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India, Vol. I.

The
testimony
of the
Copper-plate
grant.

Emperor, as a token of the latter's great regard for him, the provinces of Gauda, Kalinga, Uṛa and Kośala. If this presumption is correct Bhaskaravarma was installed on the throne of Karnasuvarna in 646 or 647 A. D. From the inscriptions on the copper-plate which he issued from Karnasuvarna making grants of lands to a large number of Brāhmanas we learn that he resided in this part of his kingdom for a considerable period of time.¹³ The inscription tells us that during Bhaskaravarma's stay in Karnasuvarna a number of Brāhmanas came there and represented the following case before Mahārāja Jyeshṭha Bhadra:—'Mahārāja Mahā-Bhata Varma, the great-great-grand-father of Bhaskaravarma, had made grants of lands to some Brāhmanas, but on account of the loss of the copper-plate the officers of the State had proceeded to assess taxes on those lands. They therefore prayed that the grant might be renewed.' A new copper-plate grant was accordingly issued

(13) Mr. R. D. Banerjee does not agree that Bhaskaravarma lived in the Rarha country for a long time. According to him, Bhaskaravarma held Karnasuvarna in occupation only temporarily, in the course of his protracted war with Sasanka and the Nidhanpur Copper-plate grant mentioned above belongs to this period. (Banglar Itihasa, Vol. 11, p. 112.) Mr. Banerjee writes, "The king of Kamarupa being defeated by Sasanka sought help from Thaneshvar. Afterwards Sasanka was defeated by the combined forces of Harsha and Bhaskaravarma. Yuang Chuang visited Karnasuvarna sometime between 636 and 639 A. D. Sasanka was not then alive. (Banglar Itihasa, vol. 11, pp 108 and 109.) The view that Bhaskaravarma sought the help of Harsha after having sustained defeat at the hands of Sasanka is not supported by any evidence and is based entirely on imagination

in the names of the surviving descendants and successors of those Bhāhmanas to whom the gifts had been originally made. From the above it is quite evident that Bhāskaravarma lived in Karpasuvārpa for a long time as the Brahmanas would not have taken the trouble of travelling all the way from their distant homes mentioned in the inscription if it were possible for them to realise their object at the capital of Kāmārpa.

The Chinese traveller Yuang Chuang visited the capital of Kāmārpa at the invitation of Bhāskaravarma in 642 A. D. They both attended the famous festival of Kanauj in 644. A. D. Shortly after this Bhāskaravarma was installed on the throne of Karnasuvarna.

The Emperor Harsha died in 648 A. D. After his death there were scrambles for the throne. Arjuna, the General of Harsha, seizing the throne, tried to get himself acknowledged as the Emperor. He was, however, vanquished by a powerful Chinese army led by a Chinese General who had come at the invitation of Mādhava Gupta and Bhāskaravarma in 649 or 650 A. D. In the Chinese chronicles Bhāskaravarma has been styled the Lord of Eastern India.

The death
of
Harsha.

Needless to say, under the influence of Bhāskaravarma and his successors, the social customs, practices, education, culture and even the languages in Kāmārpa, Gauḍa and Kalinga tended to be similar. Though the social structure of Gauḍa underwent profound changes as a result of the great influence which the Varendra and Rāḍhiya Brāhmanas came to

The
unifying
influence
of
Bhaskara-
varma and
his
successors.

exercise over it in a later age the civilization and even the languages of Kāmarūpa and Kalinga are still reminiscence of the close association which existed at one time between these two provinces. Another reason for this is to be seen in the influence which the Bhauma dynasty of Kāmarūpa exercised over Kalinga even in a subsequent age.

The
prosperity
of
Kamarupa.

From what has been said it is clear that Kāmarūpa's association with the Rāḍha country dates from the time of King Bhaskaravarma. The Chinese pilgrim visited the capital of Kāmarūpa at the invitation of Bhaskaravarma. He was struck with admiration at the sight of the numerous temples which stood there. In his time it enjoyed the reputation of being a centre of learning. "Students from all parts of India came here and received education in the various Śāstras." We may conclude that the prosperous condition of Kāmarūpa of which the Chinese pilgrim has drawn such a brilliant picture had been in existence long before the time of his visit.¹⁴ We find in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhaskaravarma that during the reign of Mahā-bhātavarma or Bhātivarma, Rigvedi, Yajurvedi, Śāmavedi and Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas of various denominations lived in the Agrahāra of Mayurālmala which was granted by him and which was situated in his territory called Chandrapuri. The number of these Brāhmaṇas, deeply versed in the Vedas, who were thus settled by King Mahābhāti-

varma was not small. There is no doubt that they were called for the purpose of disseminating the knowledge of the Śāstras. In the Agrahara mentioned above they lived for generations. When in course of time the original copper-plate was destroyed the officers of the State proceeded to levy taxes on the lands. Thereupon the descendants of the grantees came to Karmasuvārma and explained their case to Mahārāja Jyeshṭha Bhadra, who was the officer-in-charge there. The new copper-plate which was issued by Bhāskaravarma at the request of Mahārāja Jyeshṭha Bhadra has been discovered at Nidhanpur in the district of Sylhet. This is known as the Nidhanpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarma. In the first volume of this work, the English translation of a portion of the text relating to the royal dynasty has been published. I have not dealt there with the portion of the text in which there is a description of the various classes of Brāhmaṇas who received the grants. But as a matter of fact this is the most important section of the inscription as it throws a flood of light on the problems connected with the history of castes and sects in Eastern India. As I consider this to be very important I have reproduced in Appendix A Paṇḍit Padmanāth Bhattacharyja's reading of the text.¹⁵

Most of the surnames held by Brāhmaṇas belonging to the various gotras and schools of Vedas which are mentioned in the Nidhanpur plate recur in the copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Lokanātha of the seventh century.

Brahminic
surnames
and
Maharaja
Lokanatha's
inscriptions.

(15) Vide appendix A at the end of this chapter.

Mr. Rādhagovinda Basaka who deciphered the above inscription, makes the following observation :—

"Another significant fact that may be brought to notice here is that in this plate, which we take to have belonged to the age of anarchy (*matsya-nyaya*) in Bengal, i. e. the time after the death of Harsha and before the rise of the Pala Kingdom in the eighth century, we do not find even a latent allusion to Buddhism, although the Pala kings themselves were Saugatas (Buddhists). From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Chuang (Watters, Vol II, p. 186) we learn that during this time he could find no sign of Buddhism in Kamarupa. We cannot possibly connect the plate with any of the Kamarup kings of that time. We have seen that the ancestors of Lokanātha were devotees of Saṅkara and that his own Brahmana mahāsamanta Pradosh Sarman (the grantee) wished to set up an image of Ananta-Narāyaṇa. The prevalence of Brahmanic influence in Eastern India at the time can be rightly inferred also from the mention in this inscription of the sacred fires, Pauranic deities, Brahmanas versed in the four Vedas, etc. also from the fact that the Brahmanas could be Samanta chiefs." ' ' "

"The date of the grant is stated to have been in the 44th year (l. 29.) which we have taken to refer to the Harsha era, i. e. ascorresponding, therefore, to 650 A. D.—only two years after the death of the Emperor Harsha. Historians take Āditya-sena of the later Gupta

dynasty to have ruled Eastern India after Harsha's death. Are we then to suppose that Lokanātha, who is described as only a *nṛipa* (V. 7) and uses the title of *Kūmaramatya* was a feudatory chief under Āditya-sena of Magadha? We know that *Kūmaramatya* was a technical title, used during and after the Gupta period, not only with regard to ministers, but also with regard to feudatory chiefs. So it is not unlikely that Lokanātha owed his allegiance to Ādityasena or some other sovereign of later Gupta dynasty. Who is the *parameśvara* (paramount sovereign), referred to in verse 7, and described as having lost a large number of soldiers in a battle? It seems plausible to suppose that this *parameśvara* was Lokanātha's own liege-lord, who must have sent an army to help his feudatory, who, as we know from verse 9, had to fight against another *nṛipa*, named *Jivadhārana* described as having made over to Lokanātha his own province and army by giving up battle. It seems that *Jivadhārana* occupied Lokanātha's land.

"From the use of the title *nṛipa* only it seems that like Lokanātha, this *Jivadhārana* also was a local chief in some part of Eastern India. This local chief gave up war against Lokanātha, perhaps because the latter obtained royal charter (*Sṛipatṭa*) from his sovereign."

The following genealogical chart is based on the copper-plate inscription of Maharaja Lokanātha :—

..natha (an adhimaharaja)

|
Srinatha (a Samanta)

|
Bhavanatha (A brother)

|
A son married Gotradevi

Lokanatha (Karana)	Daughter of Kesava (Para-
(Feudatory chief)	śava) who married Ashtāikā,
	daughter of Vira (good
Lakshminatha (Dutaka)	Brahmana) who was a son
	of Sthavara (described as
	Dvijavara).

From the inscription of Lokanatha it would appear that a Samanta chief named Jivadharana occupied his land. Lokanatha probably succeeded in defeating him. His liege-lord probably Jayatuṅga Varma, pleased at his valour, made him a king by granting him a royal charter. Of course his ancestor (great-great-grandfather) was styled Adhimaharaja or overlord. The portion of the inscription which refers to the date is indistinct and faded. According to Mr. Basakha's reading, the third line of the inscription on the back of the plate runs as follows :—
 ...থকে চতুশতাবিংশৎ সংবৎসবে কান্তনবাসে. Evidently this cannot mean only 44 years. The blank signifies that the number of years as it stands now was originally prefixed by figures showing either one hundred years or two hundred years. As the letters in this inscription correspond with those used in the copper-plate inscriptions of Bhaskara Varmā and Emperor Harshvardhana, the date of Lokanatha's inscription should be the year 244 of the Gupta era or 663 A. D. I have already shown that Bhaskara Varmā got as a grant

The date
of Raja
Lokanatha.

from the Emperor Harsha the provinces of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Kośala, and that in 649 or 650 A. L. D., shortly after the death of Harsha he was known to the Chinese Emperor as "Lord of Eastern India." From the copper-plate grant made by Bhāskara Varma, while he was in Karṇasuvarṇa, it is clear, that he resided here for a long time. This was the reason why the descendants of the grantees had to undertake the long and arduous journey from Chandrapuri Vishaya. There can be no doubt that Bhāskara Varma's period of ascendancy extended at least up to the year 650 A. D. He therefore appears to have been succeeded by Jayatuṅga Varma, liege-lord of Rājā Lokanātha.

In the copper-plate grant of Lokanātha his great-great-grandfather has been styled 'Adhimaharāja' or Sovereign. This makes us think that when after the downfall of the Gupta Empire, Dharmāditya, Gopachandra, Samacharadeva and other chiefs established themselves as independent rulers, the ancestor of Lokanātha also succeeded in asserting his sovereignty in his territory called Suvvaṅga. Apparently this position could not be maintained for a long time. His successors were all described as Śamantas. From what has been said above there cannot, I think, be any objection against the view that Rājā Lokanātha was a feudatory chief under Bhāskara Varma's successor Jayatuṅga Varma. Mr. Basak says, "from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen siang we learn that during this time he could find no sign of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa. We cannot possibly connect this plate with any of the Kāmarūpa kings of that time." But we can no longer subscribe to

Lokanātha's
liege-lord-
ship.

His
connection
with
Kamarupa

this view. We need not be surprised that Mahārāja Lokanātha was under the influence of Kamarupa when it is remembered that he ruled as a feudatory chief under Bhāskara Varmā or his successor. The jungly tract containing the lands which he granted to the Brāhmaṇa has been called by the name 'Suvvaṅga.' In the copper-plate inscription there is a reference to Lokanātha's fight with Jayatuṅga Varmā who was probably liege-lord and successor of Bhāskara Varmā.

While the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskara Varmā mentions the names, surnames and gotras of the grantees as also the respective Vedas to which they belonged, Lokanātha's inscription provides us with only the names and surnames of the Brāhmaṇas who obtained lands from him. It however mentions the Agastya gotra of Pradosha Sharma at whose instance the grant was made and records the names of his ancestors up to the fourth generation.

Though the surnames mentioned in Bhāskara Varmā's plate are above 26, they include more than fifty families. If the gotras and the different Vedas are taken into consideration, Lokanātha's inscription refer to forty families.

The question now arises, where did Lokanātha rule? It is difficult to answer the question with the help of the inscription only. The 8th śloka of the copper-plate runs as follows :—

“নির্ব্যাজোজ্জিতস্বত্বসাবতুৰগঃ শ্রীলোকনাথো নৃপো

বন্নিপুপবমেখবন্ত বহশো বাতং কয়ং সৈনিকম্ ॥

হলজ্যে জয়তুঙ্গবর্ষসমবে সতঃ প্রয়োগোর্থিনাং

নীভৌ নীতিবিধানতোতিচতুৰো নিত্যপ্রজ্ঞপ্ৰজঃ ॥”

From the above śloka it appears that Lokanātha was compelled to engage himself in a

war with his liege-lord Jayatuṅga Varma. But later on there was reconciliation between them and this was rendered possible by his able statesmanship. We may ask, who is this Jayatuṅga Varma? The distinguished orientalist A. Foucher refers to an image found in Samatāṭa called Jayatuṅga-Lokaṅgtha in his "L' Iconographie Bouddhique".¹⁷

We know that the copperplate of Raja Lokaṅgtha was recovered from the district of Tipperah which formed part of Samatāṭa. We may suppose that the image of Jayatuṅga-Lokaṅgtha was erected at the spot which witnessed the union between Lokaṅgtha and Jayatuṅga Varmā. It may also be that Jayatuṅga set up an image of the deity Lokaṅgtha or Avalokiteśvara which became subsequently known as Jayatuṅga-Lokaṅgtha. Whatever the fact may be, the site of the image of Jayatuṅga-Lokaṅgtha and the place from which the copper-plate was recovered both point to the conclusion that the territory over which Raja Lokaṅgtha ruled formed part of Samatāṭa. We find the earliest mention of the name Samatāṭa in the Vṛibatsamhita by Varṣhamihira. Before him Samatāṭa was known as Pravaṅga. The word 'Suvvaṅga' mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Lokaṅgtha appears to be a corrupt form of **ସୁଭବା** (Subhavaṅga). Though the image of Jayatuṅga-Lokaṅgtha seems to indicate the existence of a connection with Buddhism the copper-plate of Lokaṅgtha bears testimony to the predominance of the Brāhmanic influence. Prof. Basukh truly remarks, "A remarkable fact gathered from this inscrip-

His kingdom a part of Samatāṭa.

Predominance of Brāhmanic influence.

(17) Vide L' Iconographie Bouddhique de L' Inde, p. 108.

tion is that in ancient times even a Brahmana like Pradosha Sarmā could rise to the dignity of a Mahasamanta by the strength of his arm."¹⁸

Evidence
of inter-caste
marriage.

From the above copper-plate grant we learn that in the 7th century A. D. preparations were made for establishing one hundred Brahmanas in Samatāṭa by clearing the jungles. We further learn that inter-caste marriage was in vogue at this time. The following translation from the above copper-plate will illustrate this statement :—

(Verse 1.) Victorious is Saṅkara, by whom evils are destroyed and who avoided Kama (the God of Love) out of anger (?), (the God) whose image (is).....in all ceremonies.....and who for the three worlds' attainment of the happiness of stability divided his own person into eight forms, in each of which his greatness with regard to lordship, etc., was equally (present).

(V. 2.) There was a prosperous king, sprung from the good family of the sage Bharadvaja ...natha, whose sanctified and brilliant consecration was performed on his head by means of a shower of dust from the lotus-feet of Sambhu, a king, of highly known fame, having right to (the use of) the majestic title of adhi-maharaja (or maharajadhiraja) who for the destruction of (his) mundane existence exterminated his sins.

(V. 3.) Of that high-souled person, who was an abode of virtues, the noble son, the great feudatory chief (Samanta), Srinatha, of known prowess, who had gained in battle the wealth of valour, who was the chief vehicle of virtuous deeds, and who, like Bhagavan, could

repel misfortunes by means of the delegates of his own supremacy, was a hero who displayed in this earth all attainable feats.

(V. 4.) This accomplished son also Bhavanātha by name whose one thought was to cross the waters of the ocean of existence, transferred his rule to his brother's accomplished son, and himself became glorious like a rishi.

(V. 5.) By him was begotten, for the continuation of the family, an excellent son, by his worthy (wife) Gotradēvi, as greatly glorious as the greatness of the family (herself) who was bright with the ornament of fidelity to her supporting lord, and who took her birth from Ashṭāyikā (her mother).

(V. 6.) Of whom the mother's (Gotradevi's) father's grandfather was the prominent Brāhmaṇa named Sthāvara, the respected (maternal) great-grandfather was the chief Brāhmaṇa called Vira; the grandfather was the Paraśava Keśava, virtuous and noble, held in high esteem by the good, who, being placed in charge of the army, was in touch with the king, a famous man.

(V. 7.) That daughter's son of Keśava was king Lokanātha, who was accomplished, who had always truth for his only friend, whose army was victorious by reason of the intellect of his counsellor, the great sword shining on his postlike arms, and whose horses were the undisguised essence of great strength; against him large armies of the paramēivara (supreme ruler) were many times discomfited.

(V. 8.) 'In obstinate battle with Jayatuṅga

varsha¹⁹ he showed his readiness. He is expert in the matter of prescribing the right course to seekers (of instruction) in policy ; his subjects are always pleased, and he is happy in making friendship : this man of many qualities, dear to the learned, a resort to good people, and prone to (doing) universal good, of sharp intellect, has achieved majesty and prosperity.

(V, 9.) Thus reflecting, having the object of his action well settled in accordance with the advice of his trusted (men), king Jivadhāraṇa relinquished battle and gave away to that Karaṇa (Lokanātha), who obtained a royal charter (paṭṭa), his own territories (Vishaya) along with his army (sādhana)."²⁰

We gather the following information from above ; Lokanātha's ancestor Adhimaharāja was born in the Bharadvāja Gotra. His son was Sāmanta Srinātha. Srinātha's son was Bhavanātha ; Bhavanātha's nephew was the father of Lokanātha. Lokanātha's mother was Gotra devī. Her mother's name was Aṣṭāyikā and her father (Lokanātha's maternal grandfather) was Keśava. Keśava was a Pāraśava and was "virtuous and able, held in high esteem by the good, who, being placed in charge of the army, was in touch with the king, a famous man." Keśava's father Vira and Vira's father Sthāvara have been praised as Dvīja-sattama and Dvijavara respectively, both the terms meaning the best of the twice-

(19) Correct reading of the original plate is 'varma'.

(20) Consult Appendix B for the facsimile and reading of the copper-plate grant of Lokanātha.

born. Subsequently Raja Lokanatha has been described as Karapa.

“বসন্তদেবী স্ববিষয় সহ সাধনেন, ত্রীপটপ্রাপ্ত কষণায় বিহার বুদ্ধম্।”

It will, therefore, be observed that Raja Lokanatha's maternal grandfather was Paraśava, but he was regarded as twice-born while his great-grandfather and the latter's father were highly respected Brahmanas. In Vṛṇabhaṭṭa's Harshacharita which was written sometime before, we find that the author's father Chitrabhānu was a Sagnika Brahmana. Vṛṇabhaṭṭa was his son by his Brahmana wife and Chandrasena and Matrisena were his other sons by his Śūdra wife. Vṛṇabhaṭṭa calls them his Paraśava brothers. This proves that in his time marriage between different caste was not uncommon. We also find that there was not much orthodoxy in religious matters. Raja Lokanatha was a devotee of Siva. But his Mahāsamanta Pradosha Sarma who was an ardent believer in Vaishnavism obtained his permission to set up an image of Ananta-Narāyaṇa and settled more than one hundred Brahmanas in the jungly tract of land within the territory of Rājā Lokanatha.²¹ Again, we find, JayatuṅgaVarma though born of the Brahmanic Bhauma dynasty as will be proved from the account of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa, had a deep faith in Buddhism to which the image of Lokanatha bears testimony. This toleration in religious matters had been in evidence since the time of Harshavardhana. The Emperor though a Buddhist granted lands to Brahmanas by issuing copper-

Social
freedom
and
religious
toleration.

(21) Consult Appendix B for the facsimile and reading of the copper-plate grant of Lokanatha

plates and was attached by ties of personal friendship to Bhaskara Varma who was a devout Saiva. The contemporary inscriptions all contain evidence to prove that matrimonial connections existed between princes belonging to Saiva, Śākta, and Buddhist creeds.

The revival
of
Brahminism

Bhaskara Varma's long copper-plate grant and also copper-plate grant of Lokanātha discloses the fact that through out the empire of Harshavardhana attempts were made to revive the cult of Brahmanas and settle Brāhmaṇa families by granting them lands although the Emperor himself was a Buddhist. Both the Adhirajas or the independent rulers and the Samantas or the feudatory chiefs owning only nominal allegiance to them but their support to this movement. Not only these rulers but also the Buddhist princes of the Bhauma dynasty ruling over Kalinga and Kośala in a later age were actually settling Brāhmaṇas in their territories.

Avanti
Varma.

Mr. J. C. Ghosh in his article on Viśakha Datta, the author of the *Mudrā Rākshasa* writes,—
“In some manuscripts of the *Mudrā Rākshasa*, the reading of Avanti Varmā has been found in the last line of the last śloka in place of Chandragupta *** Although the history is silent about any descendants of Bhaskaravarma of Kamarupa, the reference to the Varāha Avatāra leads us to think that this Avanti Varma might be the immediate descendant of Bhaskaravarma, who claimed his descent from the Varāha Avatāra.”²²

But from the account already given we find

(22) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXVI, (1930) p. 244.

that the paramount ruler Jayatuṅga Varma was on the throne before 663 A. D. Under the circumstances Avanti Varma should be a descendant of Jayatuṅga Varma and predecessor of Śrī Harshadeva of Bhagadatta line.

It may be surmised that the province of Magadha was granted to Mādhava Gupta, another friend of Harshavardhana, on the occasion of the Danasāgara ceremony at Prayāga in the same way as Karnaśuvarṇa fell to the lot of Bhāskara Varma. After the demise of Bhāskara Varma, Ādityasena, a son of Mādhava Gupta made an attempt to gain ascendancy in Āryavarta by performing a horse-sacrifice. From the inscription found at Apsaḍ we learn that Ādityasena was alive in the 66th year of the Harsha era i. e. 671 or 672 A. D. His grandson Jivita Gupta was the last of the Guptas. It is generally believed that the Gupta dynasty come to an end in the last quarter of the 7th century or the first quarter of the 8th century. The Gauḍavadha Kāvya by Vākpati contains the story of the death of the Lord of Magadha at the hands of Yaśovarma. This event probably took place in 728 or 729 A. D. On the other hand from the inscriptions of Jayadeva II the Licchhavi king of Nepal, we learn that his father Sivadeva married the grand-daughter of the king Ādityasena and the daughter of the Maukhari king Grahavarma and that he himself was married to Rājyamati, the daughter of Śrī-Harshadeva styled the Lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Koṣala. In this inscription, Rājyamati has been respectfully mentioned as a Princess belong-

Āditya-sena.

Matrimonial
alliances
between
later king's
of the
Bhagadatta
dynasty
and the
Licchavis.

ing to the royal dynasty of Bhagadatta.²³ From the above inscription we learn that Jayadeva II was alive in 759 A. D. Sri-Harshadeva of Bhagadatta line must have, therefore, been alive at an earlier date.

The murder
of the King
of Gauda
by Lalita-
ditya.

Jivita Gupta died at the hands of Yaḡovarṃa sometime in 728 or 729 A. D. While returning after his victory over the ruler of Magadha he was conquered by Lalitāditya, the king of Kāshmira. The king of Gauḍa, probably Sri Harshadeva, tried to win the favour of Lalitāditya by presenting him with a number of elephants. Lalitāditya invited him to Kāshmira and though he had taken a solemn vow before a god Parihaṣakeśava who had a shrine in the city of Parihaṣapura that he would never do any harm to his guest had him murdered by a notorious 'Trigami'.²⁴

The news soon spread to Gauḍa and a number of the faithful servants of the late king, determined to avenge the death of their master came to Kāshmira on the pretence of making a pilgrimage to the sacred shrine of Śaraḍapīṭha. On arriving in Kāshmir they advanced towards the temple of Parihāsa-Keśava with the object of wrecking it. The priests, on receiving the news of their approach shut the gate of the temple. Mistaking an adjoining silver temple of Rāmasvami for the temple of Parihaṣa-Keśava they destroyed it and shattered the image of god to pieces. In the meantime the soldiers hurried to the spot and surrounded them. When they

(23) "গৌড়োড়্রকলিককোশলপতিঃ শ্রীহর্ষদেবাজ্ঞা ।

বেনোদা ভগবত্ত্বজকুলজা লক্ষ্মীবিব্রাভূজা ।"

Bhagavan Lal Indraji's Inscriptions from Nepal.

(24) Vide Rajatarangini. Chap. 4.

were busy breaking the image of the god the soldiers were cutting off their heads. But the men of Gauḍa were unperturbed. One by one they died at the hands of the enemies. How great was their loyalty ! Kalhaṇa, the famous author of *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* referring to that event remarked, "What shall I say about the arduous journey from Gauḍa to Kāshmīra ! What the men of Gauḍa did was even beyond providence. Even now the temple of Rāmasvami lying vacant, but the fame of those heroes of Gauḍa has spread to the whole Universe."²⁵

Vakpati's work does not mention the name of 'Magahanatha' or the lord of Magadha, neither does Kalhaṇa's *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* give us the name of the king of Gauḍa who was killed by the Trigṛami at the instance of Lalitāditya. The view is held by many scholars that Magahanatha or the Lord of Magadha, who was defeated and killed by Yoḡavarma, the king of Kanauj, is no other than Jivita Gupta, the grandson of the paramount lord Ādityasena. What then is the name of the king of Gauḍa who was slain by the Trigṛami ? In our opinion he is Sri-Harshadeva, the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaliṅga and Koḡala. From the large number of copperplate inscriptions that have been found in Kaliṅga it appears that after Bhaskara Varma, a certain relation of his also came to rule over Gauḍa, Uḍra and Kalinga and he was reputed to be a member of the Bhauma dynasty. We have seen that even the far-famed Lichchhavi dynasty which had entered into matrimonial alliances with the Gupta

Jivita Gupta
and
Harshadeva

(25) "অতাপি দৃষ্টতে শুভং বাসবানিবাসাদয় ।

ব্রহ্মাণ্ড পৌড়বীৰ্য্যঃ সনাথঃ বলস। পুনঃ ।' (বাল্মকী ৪১৩০)

Emperor and the powerful Maukharī Kṣatriyas, felt proud of a connection with Śrī-Harshadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty. The cause of this lies in the fact that their fame and prestige had grown enormously on account of the signal honour done to Bhaskara Varma and the long rule which they enjoyed over Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Koṣala. I am of the opinion that from the time of Bhaskara Varma to that of Śrī-Harshadeva one member of the Bhauma dynasty ruled over the western portion of Eastern India and another over its Eastern portion represented by Kamarupa. In the first volume of this work I identified Śrī-Harshadeva as Śrī Harisha, relying on the copperplate-inscriptions of Vanamānadeva, the ruler of Kamarupa in which the brother's Pralamba and Śrī Harisha have been mentioned as the successors of Vijayastambha. But it now appears to me that Śrī Harisha ruled in Kamarupa only. The date of Śrī Harisha is approximately 780 A. D. Śrī-Harsha the king of Gauḍa and father-in-law Jayadeva II flourished before 753 A. D. Hence Śrī-Harshadeva the ruler of Gauḍa, Uḍra and Kalinga and Śrī-Harisha cannot be the same person.

After the death of Śrī-Harsha (in 732-733 A. D.) Jayanta styled Ādiśura conquered Gauḍa and the successor of the Bhauma king Śrī Harshadeva retired to Orissa. The Neulpur plate of Subhakaradeva who was known as a scion of the Bhauma dynasty, issued in the 8th year of his rule records the grant of lands to Brāhmaṇas from Uttara Toshali.

R. D. Banerjee discussing the alphabet used in this inscription has come to the conclusion

that it is the Kṣayastha Nāgarī of the Eighth century A. D.

Dr. Sylvan Levi in his article entitled "King Subhakara of Orissa" Says :—

"Now at the end of the eighth century in 795 A. D. that is the 11th year of the period Cheng-yuan (785-805) the Chinese Emperor Se-tsang received as a token of image, on the 18th day of the eleventh month, an autograph manuscript addressed to him by the king of the realm of Wu-cha = Uṣra = Orissa (in Southern India), who had a deep faith in Sovereign law, and who followed the practice of Mahāyāna, 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion'. It is not doubtful that the last word was a translation of the king's name, 'fortunate' (Giles 909+4277) is the regular equivalent of Śrī 'monarch,' lion is the translation of a word such as *Sinha*, here perhaps 'Keśari'.....The Manuscript presented to the Chinese Emperor contained the last section of *Avataṁsaka*, the section treating of the practice and the vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra; in other words it was the Gaṇḍavyūha. In conclusion Dr. Sylvan Levi says "the Chinese testimony proves that for the name of king we must read Subhakara and not Subhākara as Mr. Banerjee has done." 26

It would appear from above that Subhakara, the king of Kalinga and Kośala had friendly relations with the Chinese Emperor. He was a Mahāyāna Buddhist and was reported to have sent *Avataṁsaka* to the Emperor of China. In his copperplate inscription he has been described

as the grandson of Mahārāja Kshemañkaradeva, who was a Saugata or a followers of Buddha and as a son of Mahārāja Sivankaradeva, who was also a Buddhist, He himself has been called a Saugata. If we take 795 A. D. as the year of the rise of king Subhakarā, his grandfather Kshemankara must have flourished 60 or 65 years before this. I have already said that Harshadeva, the Lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra and Kaliṅga was murdered in Kashmira about 731-732 A. D. and he has been described as having belonged to the dynasty of Bhagadatta in the inscription of his son-in-law Jayadeva II, the king of the Lichchhavis. The dynasty of Bhagadatta which ruled over Prāgjyotisha was also known as the Bhauma dynasty. We may, therefore, take the king Kshemankara to be a successor of Sri-Harshadeva.

The active part which Bhāskara Varma took in the grand Buddhist Council at Kanauj and his association with the great Chinese pilgrim probably made him a convert to Buddhism. The Lichchhavi king Jayadeva who was a son-in-law of his successor speaks of his dynasty as favouring the Law of Sugata. As Subhakarā, the king of Trikaliṅga was known as a Saugata or an ardent follower of Buddha we may hold that his predecessor Harshadeva was also devoted to the same faith. Though a Saugata he regarded it as one of his principal duties to establish Brāhmaṇas in his territory.

After the death of Harshadeva in Kashmira, there was trouble over the throne in Gauḍa. The king Jayanta, rising to power, seized Gauḍa and proclaimed himself its ruler. Kshemankara, losing Gauḍa, came to Orissa. The princes of

the dynasty to which he belonged had so long enjoyed the proud distinction of being called the Lords of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kalinga and Koṣala. After the loss of Gauḍa, they were known simply as the Lords of Trikalina or the king of Uḍra, Kalinga and Koṣala. With the establishment of the Bhauma dynasty in Orissa many of the descendants of the Brāhmaṇas to whom grants of lands had been made, migrated there. Though the Bhauma kings of Orissa were Saugatas, they welcomed these Brāhmaṇas and helped them in settling down in this country by granting them lands. From the Neulpur grant of Subhākara alone we find that he settled 200 Brāhmaṇas.

The Bhauma dynasty ruled over Orissa from the 8th century to the 13th century of the Christian era. A large number of stone and copper-plate inscriptions were left by them. Out of them the following copper-plate inscriptions and 2 rock-inscriptions have been published.

1. The Neulpur grant of Subhākara-deva (edited by R. D. Banerjee in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV).

2. The Chaurāsi grant of Subhākara-deva (Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306).

3. The Hindol grant of Subhākara-deva, edited by Pandit Vinayaka Sastri (Jl. Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83).

4. The copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī, edited by M. M. Haraprasād Sastri (Jl. Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, pp. 419-427).

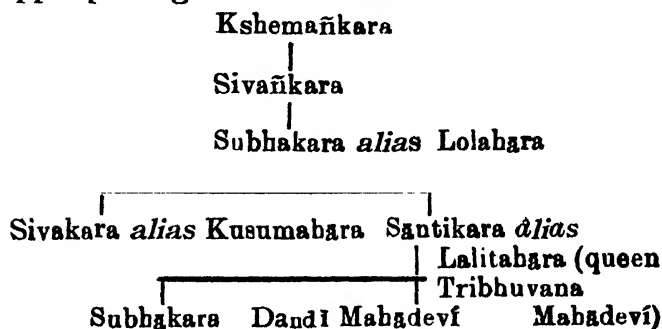
5 and 6. Two copper-plate grants of

Daṇḍī Mahādevī, edited by Prof. F. Kielhorn (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 133-142 and J. B. O. R. S., Vol. p. 564).

7. The Gaṇeśa-gumpha cave-inscription of Śrī Santikara (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV).

8. The Dhauli cave-inscription of Śrī Santikara in the year 93, edited by R. D. Banerjee (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX. p p. 263-264).

Pandit Vinayaka Misra has compiled the following genealogical table from the Hindol copper-plate grant of Subhakaradeva :—



But when the inscriptions enumerated above are studied in their bearing on one another Pandit Miśra's table would not appear to be an accurate one. In this connection I propose to discuss each of the inscriptions separately.

From the Neulpur copper-plate grant of the eighth year of the reign of Subhakaradeva, we learn that the father of Subhākara or Subhākaradeva was Kshemañkara (স্বধর্ম্মারোপিতবর্গপ্রমঃ পৰমোপাসকাভুগতাক ত্রীকেশবদেবঃ). His son was Śrī Sivañkaradeva who was a follower of Tathagata and his successor was Subhakaradeva, an ardent Saugata. From the inscription it is clear that Kshemañkaradeva, though a scion of the Bhauma dynasty adopted the Buddhist

religion and became a follower of the Paramopāsakas or Buddhist apostles. He has not been designated a king as he kept aloof from the glamour of royalty. His son Sivañkara has been described as a Parama-tathāgata and to his name was affixed the title "Śrībhara."²⁷ He did not probably rule for a long time. His kinsmen were successful in their attempts to deprive him of his kingdom (অহুচিভাষিপত্যভিলাষিহুৰ্ভদাৰাদ-কনাধীৰমানজগদুপদ্রবঃ). But his son Subhakara recovered his father's possessions after quelling the usurpers by the strength of his arms and assumed the title and the position of Maharaja.

Subhakara.

The Neulpur copper-plate relates "একত্র শতব্রাহ্মণ-ভূমি দ্বারা তাম্রপটেই আকবহেন অশ্বাভিঃ প্রতিপাদিতঃ" i.e., "By this copper-plate lands have been granted by me to 200 Brahmanas at a time."²⁸ The Seal of Bhaskaravarma found at Nālanda²⁹ and the marriage of the daughter of Harshadeva with the Lichchavi king Jayadeva who was a Buddhist, go to show that the members of this dynasty did not bear any antipathy against the Buddhist religion or the Buddhist community. When we remember this tradition in their family we can understand how Kshemañkara became a follower of Paramopāsakas and how his son Sivañkara became a parama-tathāgata. His son Subhakara was described as a great Saugata. The Bhauma dynasty which was from

(27) The later Bhauma kings adopted 'Bhara' probably from the Bhara mentioned above.

(28) *Vide* Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 3-5 and Appendix B for the names of the 200 Brahmanas.

(29) *Vide* Journal Behar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, p. 302.

time immemorial devoted to the Saivite cult and deeply attached to the Brahmanas thus inclined towards Buddhism and from the time of the kings Sivañkara and Subhakara became converted to the Buddhist faith. But the change of religion did not cause any diminution in their traditional respect for the Brahmanas as is amply proved by the copper-plate grant of Subhakara and others.

Sivakara
and
Subhakara II.

The records in the library of the Chinese Emperor bear testimony to Subhakara's influence, power and devotion to religion. It has already been stated that in 795 A. D. a messenger from Subhakaradeva waited upon the Chinese Emperor. The Chaurasi copper-plate grant of Subhakara's son tells us that Subhakara was a son of Sivan-kara and Jayavali devī, and that Subhakara begot a son called Sivakara by Mādhavi-devī. The above-named copper-plate grant was made by Sivakara. The Neulpur copper-plate records the grant of land in North Tosali, while the Chaurasi plate refers to grants made in South Tosali. While Subhakara of Neulpur plate gave lands to 200 Brahmanas, Sivakara of the Chaurasi plate made his grant to only one person named Jallu Bhāṭṭa, a Rīgvedī Brahmana belonging to the Kātyāyana Gotra (কাত্যায়নগোত্রায় বৈশ্বানর-ধিত্ব-কঠখিল প্রবরায় ঋগবেদচরণ জল্লভট্টায় এবম্বাভিতাত্ত্বশাসনকৃত্য.)

Lakshmi-
kara,
Unmatta-
kesari
and
Gayada.

After the death of Sivakara the kingdom was probably seized by his kinsmen. The kings called Lakshmikara, Unmatta Kesari, Gayada, etc., flourished during this time. Some indication of this is contained in the Hindol copper-plate grant and the copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana

Mahadevi. The latter says, "Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Lalitabhgradeva married Purayidevi. Seated upon the lion-throne like Katyayani, Tribhuvana Mahadevi who inherited the prosperous kingdom of the Karas, made this grant."³⁰ She granted half a village in the Kankavira Vishaya the income from which was to be spent on incense, lights, flowers, sacrificial offerings, etc., required for the worship of the image of Vaidyanatha Bhattaraka installed in the temple of Pulindevara.³¹

Lalitabhara.

Tribhuvana
Mahadevi.

Pandit Vinayaka Misra's rendering of the first (fourteen lines) portion of the Hindol copper-plate grant is as follows :—

"When the kings such as Kamalakara, Bhas-kara and Lakshmikara who sprang from Bhauma dynasty and who on account of their performance of hospitality were fondled by the Lord of gods eager to provide them with a place in this abode—had departed for heaven, in their family flourished the Paramasaugata (devout worshipper of Sugata Buddha), Paramesvara, Sri Subhakara who was the conqueror of enemies whose fame pervaded the three worlds who neither was heard of, being deserted by his soldiers, nor ever suffered defeat by enemy,—who was honest and truthful and who was also the best of men (Lines 6-9). His son the king Santikara who was an unsurpassable warrior in repressing the value of the invincible enemies, who excelled the former (kings) in intellect, who was famous in the world for his unique loving

(30) *Vide* copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi in JI. E. O. R. S. Vol. II, p. 421.

(31) *Vide* Hindol plate of Sivakara.

appearance and who being kind-hearted rightly acquired the title *Nihāmsaya Dhanadā* (unhesitating giver of wealth) by uncomparable charitable gifts praised in the heaven and even now has kept at a distance *Kuvera* (giver of wealth), was born like a king of heaven (Lines 9-14). His son *Subhakara* who meditates on his (father's) feet, who is born to queen *Tribhuvana Mahadevi*, daughter of the diadem of the *Naga* dynasty, who is the lord of day (Sun) in causing the lotus of pious men to bloom, who has acquired the profound knowledge of the internal essence of all the *Āgamas*, whose lotus of delight of every person to bloom and still is not an oppressor in taxation, unlike the glowing heat of the Sun—who has made arrogant kings to be afraid of his arms and deprived them of luxury from tribute—who resembles the full blossomed wishing tree (which grants whatever the suitor wants) who being delivered of the bad influences of the *Kali* age, though resembles the ocean of milk, but still produces the glowing heat of power and who has assumed the titles *Paramabhaṭṭaraka*, *Maharajadhiraja* (Lord of sovereigns) and *Paramesvara*."

In the above, '*Kamalākara*' has been taken as the first of the *Bhaumas*. But '*Kamalākara*' is an adjective, not a name. The text runs as follows :—

“ভোমাস্বায়কমলাকবভাক্ষবেষু লক্ষ্মীকবাদিসু নৃপেযু শিবাং গতেষু ।
আতিথ্য-সম্ভ্রম-দেবৰাজ শ্রীমন্নিজাসনে নিবেশনলালিতেষু ।

তদন্বয়ে জিতাবাতিবভূং পৰমসৌগত

ত্রৈলোক্যাবিলসংকীৰ্ত্তিনৃপতি শ্রীশুভাকবঃ ॥”

‘When the kings such as *Bhaskara*, the *Kamalākara* or the source of prosperity of the *Bhauma* dynasty, *Lakshmīkara* and others departed to the region of the

Lord of Gods there was born devout in that dynasty Subhakara who was a Saugata.'

It is quite clear that in the above inscription Bhaskara has been called the Kamalākara of the Bhauma dynasty. I have already stated that the Bhauma dynasty of Gauḍa and Utkala first became prosperous at the time of Bhaskaravarma. Pandit Vinayaka Miśra has described Subhakara of the Hindol copper-plate and Subhakara of the Neulpur plate as one and the same person. But a discussion of the two inscriptions will show that this is not so.

From Pandit Vinayaka Misra's version of the text given above it will be seen that after the decease of Lakshmikara and other kings there was born in the same family Subhakara whose son was Santikara. Santikara had a son called Subhakaradeva by his wife Tribhuvana Mahadevi. The Hindol copper-plate, therefore, proves that there was more than one person bearing the name Subhakara in the dynasty. In the copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi, Unmaṭṭa Keśari and Gayāḍa have been mentioned among the kings of the Kara dynasty. The inscription then, speaks of Purāyidevi, wife of 'Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Lalitabhāradeva who succeeded to the throne by right of inheritance and ruled over the Kara kingdom. After Purāyidevi, mention has been made of 'Paramabhāṭṭarīkā' (a great queen). Paramavaishṇavi (a devoted follower of Vaishnavism) Tribhuvana Mahadevi who sat on the lion-throne like Kātyāyanī with her feet placed on the heads of the Mahāsamantas—who was, as it were, a support of the Kshatriyas and who meditated on the feet of her parents.³² As the

Subhakara
II
Santikara.

inscription distinctly says that the wife of Lalitabhṛadeva was Purayidevī and as the expression 'যাতাপিতৃপাদাহুযাত' i.e., one who meditated on the feet of her parents and not the expression 'পতিপাদাহুযাত' i.e., one who meditated on the feet of her husband has been used in referring to Tribhuvana Mahādevī, we cannot take the latter to be the wife of Lalitabhṛadeva. The Hindol copperplate says :—"শ্রীমদ্রাগোত্তব-কুলললামভবায়াং মহা-দেব্যাং শ্রীত্রিভুবনমহাদেব্যামবাস্তবজন্মা"। According to this Tribhuvana Mahādevī belonged to the royal dynasty of the Nāgas. The term 'Mahadevi' was the characteristic designation of the Princesses of the Nāga dynasty.³³ In the copper-plate grant of Daṇḍī Mahādevī who belonged to the later period we come across the following :—

Dandi
Mahadevi.

'The king Gayaḍa and others were the lineal descendans of Ummaṭṭasiṇha who having crushed his enemies became the rulers of the earth, just as the moon shines brightly dispelling darkness.'

Lonabhara.

King Lonabhāra was their descendant. Santikara was the son of Lonabhāra. This king reigned peacefully after having recovered his territories from Durmadakaṇṭaka. Subhakara was his youngest brother. After the death of Subhakara, his wife Gaurī ascended the throne. Daṇḍī Mahādevī was the daughter of Gaurī. From the Ganjam copper-plate we learn that she made this copper-plate grant to Pratihara Dhavala, grandson of Apratida Ghosha and son of Vāsu Ghosha. The Banpur plate of Daṇḍī Mahādevī was granted in 387

of an unspecified era to persons belonging to Bharadvaja and other Gotras.

On the basis of the inscriptions discussed above the following genealogical table has been prepared. The table is incomplete.

	Bhāskara Varma	Genealogy of the Bhauma Kings.
	?	
	Jayatuṅga	
	?	
	Avanti Varma	
	?	
	Śrī Harshadeva	
	?	
Neulpur Plate	Kshemañkara	
	Sivañkara (wife Jayavati)	
Chaurāsi Plate	Subhākara or Subhakara (wife Madhavi)	
	Sivakara	
	?	
	Lakshmiṅkara	
	?	
	Unmatta Keśari	
	?	
	Gayādatuṅga	
	?	
	Subhakara	
Hindol Plate	Sāntikara (wife Tribhuvana Mahadevi)	
	Subhākara	
	?	
	Lonabhara	

Kusumabhara	Lalitabhara (wife Purayidevi)	
Sāntikara	Subhakara (wife Gauri)	
	Dandī Mahadevi	

Pandit Vināyaka Misra remarks :—

“No such dynasty called Bhauma has hitherto been found in the epigraphic records discovered in India excluding Orissa. But we find in the Purāṇas that one Guha protected the peoples Kalingas, Māhishyas and Mahendra Bhaumas. (Dynasty of Kali Age, by Pargiter.) In the Purāṇas this Guha has not been said to be the offshoot of any Aryan family. I therefore suggest that the origin of the Bhauma dynasty may be traced to the Mahendra Bhaumas of the Purāṇas. This tribe most probably inhabited the hilly tracts of Orissa.”³⁴

The
Bhaumas
are the
lineal
descendants
or branch
of the
Bhauma
kings of
Kamarupa.

Pandit Misra has probably no knowledge of the dynasty of Bhagadatta or the Bhauma dynasty of Prāgjyotisha; otherwise he could not have said, “No such dynasty called Bhauma has hitherto been found in the epigraphic records discovered in India excluding Orissa.” In numerous copper-plate inscriptions of Kamarupa, Bhagadatta and his descendants have been called Bhauma on account of the fact that the former owed his descent to Naraka Bhauma.³⁵ In course of his interpretation of the Neulpur copper-plate grant Mr. R. D. Banerjee says, “In the first line the kings mentioned in the grant are said to have been descended from the family of the Earth (*Bhaumānvaya*). Most probably they claimed descent from the Naraka, like the early kings of Kamarupa. This is supported by the fact that the first king has a surname which has

(34) J. B. O. R. S. Vol XVI. pt. I, p. 71.

(35) *Vide* The Social History of Kamarupa, Vol I, p. 164, foot-note; for particulars see pp. 39, 77, 80, 82, 86, 127 & 128.

distinctly non-Aryan sound, e.g. "Nri(?)gatapha"³⁶ But in the original text there is no such word as Nri(?)gatapha. The correct reading is "nugatacha."³⁷ Moreover in the list of kings of the Bhauma dynasty there is not a single person bearing a Non-Aryan name. Pandit Vinayaka Misra also thinks that the Bhauma dynasty was derived from a Non-Aryan hill tribe of Orissa. But this dynasty could not have belonged to an indigenous tribe of Orissa. I have already shown that the Bhauma kings of Orissa were the descendants of Bhaskara Varmā of Kamarūpa. Speaking of the great ancestor, the Hindol plate says "ভোমাবায়কবলা-কবভাস্কবেষ্ণু" e, i, this Bhaskara was the source of the lotus or the prosperity of the Bhauma dynasty. In the copper-plate grant of the Queen Tribhuvana Mahadevī who belonged to this dynasty we have the following:—"উন্নীলনৈকনিবতেষু ক্ষতস্থিতীনা-মুলট্টকেশবিগগাড়াপুৰঃসবেষু"³⁸ The above mentions the title "Keṣari" as being held by this dynasty. Though in the line "শ্রীমানিন্দুৰিবাবনৌপতিব-ভূম্মট্টসিংহাস্বয়ঃ"³⁹ occurring in the copper-plate grant of Dandī Mahadevī we have "Unmaṭṭa Sinha" instead of "Unmaṭṭa Keṣari" it is obvious that the word Siṅha was used in place of "Keṣari" for the sake of the rhythm. According to the records of the Chinese Emperor referred to by Prof. Sylvan Levi, Subhakara of the Neulpur copper-plate bore the title "Keṣari". The latter

The
Bhaumas
are not non
aryan or
indigenous
tribe of
Orissa

The
Bhaumas
styled as
Kosari line
of Orissa.

(36) Epigraphia Indica, Vol XV, p 2.

(37) Vide Original text in appendix C.

(38) Vide JI. Behar-Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, p. 76 (3rd line of the plate)

(39) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI. p. 133 & Journal of Behar & Orissa Research Society. Vol. V. p. 564.

The bengal
origin of the
Bhāmas
or Kesari
dynasty of
Orissa.

lived in the 8th century A. D. It may therefore he concluded that after the Bhauma dynasty had come over to Orissa, some of the kings of this line also used the title of "Keśari." The copper-plate grants do not, however, show that this title was held by successive kings of the dynasty. On account of a difference in the reading of the text the dynasty has been called Soma instead of Bhauma by some scholars. The distinguished antiquarian Dr. Fleet calls the Keśari kings of Madala-pañji the Soma-Vaṅgi kings of Kaṭaka.

The great Yayāti Keśari called in contemporary records Sri Mahāsivagupta Sri Yayāti-deva has given the following account of himself in his Maranjamurā copper-plate inscription :—

“কর্ণাটগুর্জরেশ্বর-দাড়জবীভূবিটকণৎ-কাঞ্চীকলাপাভরণ-
লম্পটঃ। কলিককোঙ্গদোংকলককোশলাস্বধবঃ প্রসিদ্ধগোড়-
রাঢ়াস্ব-প্রকর্ণোৎঘাতমারুতশীতাস-বঙ্গবিমলাস্বপূর্ণক্রেঃ স্বভূজো-
পার্জিত-ত্রিকলিঙ্গাধিপতিঃ পৰমমাহেশ্বর পৰমভট্টাবকঃ
শ্রীমহাভবগুপ্ত-পাদানুধ্যাত মহারাজাধিরাজ পৰমেশ্বর-প্রদত্ত
বাজগোপদেবিতপাদাববিন্দয়ুগলঃ শ্রীমহাশিবগুপ্ত শ্রীযযাতিদেব
কুশলো।”

The inscription concludes with the lines,

“অম্মদ্বঙ্গায় কালে যঃ কশিচন্ পতির্ভবেৎ।

তস্তাহং পাদবজ্রোহস্মি যযাতিবাজ প্রার্থতঃ ॥” ৪০

In the above, Yayātiraja speaks of his Bengali origin and uses the expression ‘Vangavimalāmbarapurachandra’ when speaking of his father. All this conclusively proves that their ancestors came from Bengal. The inscription further shows that Mahābhava-gupta, the father of Yayātiraja conquered Trikalīnga by the strength of his arms (স্বভূজোপার্জিত-ত্রিকলিঙ্গাধিপতি), The real name of

Mahābhavagupta was Janamejaya. We came across the names Janamejaya Keśari in Mādala-pañji.

We find the names of the kings Loṇabhara and Gayāḍa in the copper-plate inscriptions of Tribhuvana Mahādevī and Daṇḍī Mahādevī. According to the copper-plate inscription of Gayāḍatuṅga quoted below this king was a son of Loṇatuṅga.

Tunga
another
title of
Bhaumas.

“শান্তিলাগোত্রাহংপন্নবোহিতাগিৰিনিৰ্গত ৰাজশ্ৰী জগত্তুঙ্গ
ৰূপবীৰ্য্যবলান্বিত তস্তাহংয়ে সলোণতুঙ্গ শ্ৰীমাতুৰ্জিতবিক্রমঃ তস্মাৎ
বভূব ধৰ্ম্মজ্ঞো হৃদ্ধাকৌৰিৰ চক্ৰমা পৰমমাহেশ্বৰ সমধিগত পঞ্চমহাশব্দ
শ্ৰীগয়াডুত্তৰদেব কুশলী ।”⁴¹

Gayadatunga

From Gayāḍatuṅga's copper-plate grant we also learn that he granted land in Orissa to one Manutadhan Sarmā, son of Deva Sarmā of the Kāsyapa Gotra, who was a Yayurvedi and who came from Bhaṭagṛāma in Varendramanḍala.⁴¹

Vinitatunga.

Again, the copper-plate inscription of Vinitatuṅga has the following :—‘The king Vinitatuṅga who was endowed with learning, physical beauty and prowess hailed from the region of the Rohita hills and belonged to the Saṇḍilya Gotra. His descendant was Khaḍgatuṅga. From him was sprung like the moon from the Ocean of milk, the guardian of faith, Parama-māhesvara, the holder of Pañcha-mahāśabda, the mighty Tuṅga king Mahārāja Rāṇaka Vinitatuṅga-deva.’ This Tuṅga king made copper-plate grants to Bhaṭṭaputra Chakra-Datta, Bhaṭṭaputra Chakrarakshita hailing from Puṇḍravardhana, Valabhadrapati, son of Sādharaṇa of the Gautama Gotra and to Aṣṭakula.⁴²

(41) Mayurbhanja Archæological Survey Report, Vol. I. p. 150.

(42) Mayurbhanja Arch. Sur. Report, Vol. I. p. 156.

In the copper-plate inscription of the Karapa King Lokanātha we have seen that "against him large armies of the Paramesvara (supreme ruler) were many times discomfited. In obstinate battle with Jayatuṅga he showed his readiness!" In our opinion the above Jayatuṅga was the overlord of Lokanātha. The members of the ancient lunar dynasty of Chandradvīpa described themselves as being descended from the 'Rohitaśibhuja' dynasty.⁴³ The Vanikakulakārikā of Vipra Govardhana also says "স্বৰ্গবংশসমুদ্ভূতঃ চন্দ্ৰঃ ত্ৰিবোহিতাগিৰিঃ" ⁴⁴

It has already been stated that an image called Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha has been found in Samatāṭa. The copper-plate inscription of the king Lokanātha was discovered in the district of Tippera which was formerly within Samatāṭa.

Rohitagiri
the original
home of
Tungas.

The famous Lalmai hills of Tipperah were probably called Rohitagiri in the olden times and this region was included in Samatāṭa. We may, therefore, presume that a branch of the Bhauma dynasty migrated from this place to Orissa. It seems reasonable to hold that the ancestors of the Bhaumas of whom Jayatunga was one originally ruled here. Like the Kesari dynasty, this Tunga family migrated with their kin to Orissa and established their sway in that country. With them also came Brāhmaṇas from Varendra and Puṇḍravardhana. This is proved by the copper-plate inscriptions of Gayaṭa-tunga and Vinītatunga mentioned above.

The Bhauma dynasty came to be subsequently known as the Kara dynasty. In the

(43) *Vide Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 307, 311.

(44) *Vangera Jatiya Itihasa*, Rajanyakanda. p. 277.

copper-plate grant of Tribhuvana Mahadevi the expressions “কবকুলকুমুদাকবেন্দু” and “প্রক্রমাগত কববাল্যত্রি” have been used with reference to Lalitabharadeva and Tribhuvana Mahadevi respectively. In the copper-plate inscription of Dandī Mahadevi the Queen Dandī Mahadevi has been praised in the following words :—

“অবিচ্ছিন্নাবতিপ্রাংশৌ বংশে কবমহীভূতাম্ ।

হিঙ্গভূতাপতাকেষু বা বভূব বিভূষণম্ ॥

লাবণ্যামৃতনিঃস্যান্দ সুন্দরং দধতী বপুঃ ।

যা রাজচন্দ্রলেখেব বিলসৎ কীর্তিচন্দ্রিকা ॥”

She was like a piece of flag, the ornament of the extensive and undivided kingdom of the Karas.

Paṇḍit Vinayaka Misra in course of his discussion of the Hindol plate writes, “The Oriya Mahābhārata of Sarala Dāsa of the 15th century. A. D. states that Viṣṇupakara, founder of the Kara family, with the aid of Bhīma, brother of Yudhisṭhira established his rule over a holy land called Sivapura. This Sivapura is to be identified with Sivadasapura lying in the vicinity of Viraja temple in Jajpur where the ruins of a palace are now traceable” (J. B. O. R. S. VI, p. 73).

In my opinion, the hearsay derived from the Mahābhārata of Sārala Dāsa has very little historical value. Nowhere in the numerous inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty there is any allusion to Viṣṇu Kara. There was probably a popular tradition that the Karas extended their power with the help of their Kinsmen of the Bhauma dynasty. It is not unlikely that the name Bhauma should have been changed to Bhīma. It appears to

me that after the disappearance of the Kara dynasty and the death of Daṇḍī Mahadevi, the last of the Kara rulers, the Mahā-sāmanta Janamejaya conquered the whole of Kalinga and adopted the name of Mahābhavagupta. In Orissa, he was probably known as Janmejaya Keśari. His son Yayātiraja seized Guhadevapaṭaka or Guhesvara-paṭaka, the ancient capital of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and founded the capital city of Yayātipura in his own name on the bank of Mahanadi, now popularly known as Kaṭaka.

Pandit Vinayaka Misra has raised many important topics in course of his discussion in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Kara kings :—

“Again according to the version of Virajā Mahātmya, shrines in Jajpur bear the names of Lalitesvara, Kusumesvara and Daṇḍīsvara. These shrines probably took their names after Lalitahara, Kusumahara and Daṇḍī Mahadevi who flourished in the Kara family. Moreover, if from the expression Mandākinī-kulavāsakāt prāpta-pancha-mahāsabda (the title ‘pancha-mahāsavāda’ obtained from one residing on the bank of Mandākinī), we can assert, that Jayasinha got the recognition of his lordship over the Goṇḍamaṇḍala from an overlord, who used to reside on the bank of Mandākinī (above Vol. II) then it can be said that the residence of that overlord was at Jajpur, for a stream called Mandākinī now flowing there. Besides, the accounts of Yuan Chuang who reached the capital of Orissa after proceeding Tamralipti or 130 miles from Tamruk (Life of Hiuen Tsiang by Samuel

Beal) is in support of the supposition that Jajpur which is about 120 miles from Tamluk was then the capital of Orissa.

"The description given in the Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate also indicates that Guhesvara Patāka whence the plate was issued, was the capital of the donor's kingdom. As all the plates of Kara family were issued from one place, it can be maintained that that place was there permanent capital. In this case Guhesvara Patāka of the plates of Kara family can be identified with Godāneśvara-paṭṇa which now forms a part of Jajpur town.

Guhadeva
pataka
capital of
the
Bhaumas.

"Another startling fact has been revealed by this plate. It states in line 5 on the reverse that the donor had a Lion-emblem (*simhadhvaja*). We find also the mention of Ummatta in Tribhuvana Mahadevi's plate. It can be held now that this *simhadhvaja* also refers to the Kesari title of the donor. Consequently the Bhauma or Kara dynasty is identical with the Kesari dynasty of the temple chronicle of Puri. It can be said now that Dr. Sylvan Lèvy is quite right in his assumption that Subhakara Kesari (one who does what is pure Lion) of Orissa who presented the Avatamsaka, a Buddhist work, to the Emperor of China, belonged to this Bhauma dynasty (E. I. Vol. XV), since such name having Kesari title has been found now."⁴⁵

THE GUHAS OF CRISSA.

Guha kings
in Orissa.

The name "Guhadevapaṭaka" or "Guheṣvara-paṭaka" occurs in all the copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhauma dynasty. It has already been stated that the Neulpur copper-plate grant was made in the eighth century A. D. We may, therefore, hold that the name "Guhadevapaṭaka" or "Guheṣvarapaṭaka" had been in existence even before this time. Apparently at a certain period of time before the establishment of the rule of the Bhauma dynasty the country had been governed by the family of the Guhas.

They gave their name to the country which came to be known as "Guhadeva" or "Guheṣvarapaṭaka." Now the question arises—when did the Guhas come into power? I have shown elsewhere⁴⁶ that in the fourth century A. D. Guhaśiva reigned at Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga. Dathavaṅsa, a Pali book by Dharmakīrti Thero of Ceylon gives an account of Guhaśiva in connection with the story of the preservation of the tooth of Buddha. We are told that a favourite disciple of Buddha collected his master's tooth from the funeral pile on which his dead body was burnt and presented the sacred relics to Brahmadatta, the king of Kalinga. At his capital, Brahmadatta built a golden temple overlaid with precious stones as the repository of the sacred tooth. This explains how the capital of Kalinga became famous as Dantapura or city of the tooth. (370-390 A. D.) Guhaśiva ascended the throne at Dantapura by right of

(46) *Vide* Bangera Jatiya Itihasa, Rajanyakanda, pp. 314-316.

inheritance. He was at first devoted to the Brahmanas. Influenced as he was by them, he was unlike his predecessors without any faith in the worship of the tooth. But a supernatural occurrence made him an ardent convert to the cult of the tooth. Annoyed at this, the Brahmanas complained against him to the king of Pataliputra. Acting on their advice, the king of Pataliputra despatched a *Sāmantā* chief named Chittayana to bring Guhaśiva with the tooth. As soon as the tooth were brought there many extraordinary things began to happen as a result of which the king of Pataliputra became a firm believer of the tooth. After the death of the king of Pataliputra, Guhaśiva brought back the tooth to Dantapura. But he was not allowed to live in peace. The chief of a neighbouring country called Kshiradhara attacked his territory. Kshiradhara was defeated and killed, but his nephew renewed the attack on the territory with a large army. Perceiving that defeat was inevitable this time, Guhaśiva told his beloved son-in-law Dantakumara, the Prince of Ujjayinī that he apprehended change of fortune and that in the event of his death in the battlefield the tooth-relic of Buddha should be sent to Ceylon. After his death in the battle, Dantakumara accompanied by his wife came in disguise to Ceylon via Tamralipta, taking with him the sacred tooth. Since that time the tooth have been preserved in Ceylon where they are still worshipped.

Tooth relic
of
Buddha.

Guhaśiva, Guheśvara and Guhadeva are synonymous expressions. It is not unlikely that Guhaśiva's capital should have become known as Guhesvara-paṭaka or Guhadeva-

paṭaka. According to some scholars, Dantapura, the holy land of the Buddhist, is to be identified as the modern Dantan in the District of Midnapore. Others hold that it is Puri. But in my opinion Dantapura and Guhadevapaṭaka or Guhesvarapaṭaka should be regarded as identical in view of the fact that Dantapura was Guha's paṭas or the capital of Guhaśiva's kingdom. The king Sivankara, a follower of Buddha or his son the Paramasaugata Subhakarā founded their capital here, knowing it to be a place of Buddhist pilgrimage. In the Guhavaṁśa-Kārika (genealogical account dealing with the family of the Guhas) by the Ghaṭaka Nandaraṃa Mitra we have the following :—

“দশবৎসুহ এষ জ্ঞানবান্ শুক্বেশো

গুহকুলবজ্রনীশঃ কোটদেশক্ষিতীশঃ ।

দ্বিজবংশকুলসেবী বেদনিষ্ঠোপজীবী

শতগুহকুলভাষন্তত্র সর্বত্র হাসঃ ।”

‘This learned, elegantly dressed, Daśaratha Guha is like the bright moon of the family of the Guha. He is the ruler of the Koṭa country, a follower of the Vedas and is devoted to the Brāhmaṇas. These words in which Guha was introduced made everyone laugh.’

From the above we learn that Daśaratha Guha was a prince of the Koṭadeśa. In Sandhyākara Nandi's commentary on the Rāmacharita a king named Viraguṇa has been called a sovereign-ruler of the southern country and a necklace on the mighty tree of Koṭa (“কোটটবীকঞ্জীৰব-নক্ষিণ-সিংহাসনচক্ৰবৰ্ত্তী”). This king had helped Rāmapāla. Rāmapāla flourished during the period 1057-1087 A. D. Again in a

treatise called *Saravali* which gives a genealogical account of the *Baṅgaja Kayasthas* we find that a *Guha* prince of *Koṭa* visited the court of the *Gauṇa* territory in the year 994 of *Saka* era (1072 A. D.) at the invitation of its king. The *Kula-karikā* or genealogical treatise collected from *Idilpur* contains the following verse bearing on the subject of the visit of the *Brahmanas* to the court of the *Vaṅga* king which is referred to in the genealogical accounts of the *Baṅgajas* :—

“চল যাই বিৰাটবাড়ী, তবে সে যাইতে পারি,
 রাজা না বলি যাইবে কে ।
 শুনিবা যে নৃপবর, চলে যাই সত্বর,
 কহিতে লাগিলা রাজাকে ॥
 শুন রাজা নৃপবর, চল যাই সত্বর,
 আবাহন করিছে গৌড়পতি ।
 বিৰাটরাজা কহেন কথা, আমি না যাইব তথা,
 পৌত্রে পাঠাইয়া দিব সন্ততি ॥”

It appears from the lines quoted above that the founder of the royal family of the *Guhas* belonged to the royal dynasty of *Virāṭa*. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Koṭadeśa* was under the jurisdiction of *Cuttack*. *Koṭa* means a fort. The area covered by the principal *gaḍ-jats* of *Orissa* was known as *Koṭa*. Its ruler *Vīra Guṇa* has been described in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita* as the sovereign-ruler of the Southern country (দক্ষিণসিংহাসনচক্রবর্তী). In Eastern Bengal some *Guha* families have the surname ‘*Gu*’ or ‘*Guṇa*’⁴⁷ It is, therefore, not improbable that *Vīra Guha* mentioned as *Vīra Guṇa* by *Sandhyākara* was the *Guha* king of *Virāṭa*.

(47) Of course there is a separate surname as *Guna* found in the list of *Kayastha-Kula-panjika*.

In certain genealogies of Baṅgaja Kāyastha we come across the words “অম্মণিকুলোত্তর গুহবংশাভিধানো মহান্।” ‘He belongs to the great family of the Guhas who are descended from the Agnikula’. Most of the leading royal dynasties of Rajasthan claimed descent from the Agnikula. Some were called Guhalot or Guhilot after the name of Guhadatta, a remote ancestor of the Maharajas of Udaipur. The Deopara inscription of king Vijayasena tells us that he defeated a prince named Vira. If this Vira and Viraguna are regarded as identical then we may presume that this king on account of his hostility with Vijayasena could not leave his territory at the invitation of Syamalavarma in the year 994 of the Saka era, but sent his grandson Daśaratha Guha to his court. Syamalavarma had extended his conquests to Vanga. Being honoured at his court Daśaratha and his descendants were counted among the leading Kulīnas in the Baṅgaja community.

After the defeat and death of Guhaśiva his descendants or kinsmen took shelter in the hilly tracts protected by forrest trees and ruled there. As they belonged to the Virāṭa dynasty they were known by the title Virāṭa-Bhujanga-Mandhātā. Even now in the Gaḍajāt region there are many glorious relics of the dynasty of Virāṭa Bhujāṅga as also legends connected with their rule. My observations regarding the Bhujanga or Naga dynasty made elsewhere are quoted below :—

“The Naga race once exerted great influence all over India ; the traces of that influence are still found in several places. Even at the time of the 23rd Tirthankara Paśyanātha (8th

century B. C.) the Nagas dwelt near Mayurabhanja. They were very powerful until the time of the Gupta emperors. After they had been defeated by the Emperor Samudra Gupta they continued to wield considerable power till the early part of the seventh century of the Christian era. The Naga family of Mayurabhanja was known by the name of Vairata Bhujanga or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family. Evidences of serpent worship by the Vairāṭa dynasty are also found in many places of Mayurbhañja as far as Raibania in the district of Midnapur on the North, Virāṭagaṇa near Khiching on the South, Koptipadā and Nilgiri on the east and Sirsa on the West. This dynasty flourished in Mayurbhañja before the Bhañja Rājās rose to power there. The Naga kings probably took refuge in the hill tracts of Mayurbhañja and Chota-Nagapur on being driven out of their original home by the Emperor Harshvardhana. Hence it appears that the power of the Vairāṭa Rājās of Mayurbhañja dates from the seventh century A. D. The Paṭamuṇḍi hill near Paraḍiḥa is known as the original seat of the serpent goddess, who was the tutelary deity of the Vairāṭa dynasty. There was near this hill a stone image of the goddess which has long since been removed. It is now preserved in the house of the sarbarāḥkār of the Bhujanga dynasty of Koptipadā and is worshipped by him. The image of Kinchaka Naga carved on the Paṭamuṇḍi hill is another proof of serpent worship by the Vairāṭa Rājās. The image known, by the name of Kinchakeśvari, or Khichingeśvari, now situated at Khiching in Panchpir and regarded as the tutelary deity

Naga-
worship in
garhjat.

Antiquity of
Naga
worship.

of the Bhanja Rajas was formerly worshipped by the Vairāṭa Bhujangas. The lower half of the image of the goddess Vairāṭapaṭa Thakuraṇi at Koptipada and Raibania has the form of a serpent while the upper half of the image presents a human form. This image appears to be identical with that of Ella, the mother of the Scythians which was worshipped in central Asia, as described by Diodorus. A figure has been discovered, amongst the ruins of Koṭari-gaḍa, which appears to be only a different form of this goddess. She wears a head-dress of serpent-hoods and clasping a bowl in both hands, presents with her closed eyes the attitude of meditation. The goddess, though once considered the chief object of worship of the Bhujanga family, is now neglected and receives worship only from a low class Dehuri of the village. It is known by the people of the place by the name of Koṭasani. The figure was probably placed in the fort of this place and worshipped at the time of the ascendancy of the Vairāṭa dynasty, deriving probably from this fact its name Koṭavasini or Koṭasani. This figure is in all likelihood that of Manasa."⁴⁸

It is needless to say that after the establishment of its rule in Orissa, the Bhauma-Kara dynasty entered into matrimonial alliances with the members of the Naga dynasty. That dynasty was held in high esteem in Orissa has been repeatedly declared in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. The famous Queen Tribhuvana Mahadevi was

(48) For further particular *vide* the Mayurbhanja Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I. pp. XXXVI-XXXVIII, and 72-73.

born in the Naga family. The title Mahadevi seems to have been applied exclusively to the Naga Queens. Though we have not yet found any copper-plate inscriptions of the Naga or Bhujaṅga dynasty of Orissa, many inscriptions issued by a branch of this family who ruled somewhere near Bastar have been discovered which describe the dynasty as “নাগবংশোদ্ভবভোগবতী-পূর্ববর্ষেব সবৎস-ব্যাপ্রলাঙ্ঘন কাশ্মপগোত্র” The following is a list of these inscriptions—(1) Narayanpal stone inscription of Queen Guṇḍa Mahadevī, the mother of Somesvaradeva, dated Saka 1033 (1111 A.D.) (2) Barsuri inscription of Gaṅga Mahadevī, wife of Somesvaradeva, dated Saka 1130. (3) Kuruspal inscription of Dhārana Mahadevi, second queen (?) of Somesvara, (4) Sunarpal stone inscription of Mahadevī, queen of Jayasiṁhadeva. (5) The Dantesvariguṇī inscription of Narasiṁhadeva, dated Saka 1140.⁴⁹

Though in later times the religion professed by the dynasty has been variously represented to be Vaiṣṇava, Saiva and Śakṭa, there is ample evidence to show that they actually followed the Mahāyāna school of Buddhist doctrine. Another royal dynasty of Orissa which has its headquarters at Nilgiri still uses the title ‘Virāṭa Bhujaṅga Maṇḍhata.’ At Sujanagaṇa, 3 miles from Nilgiri there is a temple of the goddess Budhar Chaṇḍī who was regarded as the presiding deity of the Nilgiri rulers. The Nilgiri State provides for the daily worship of the goddess. I have seen the image of Budhar Chaṇḍī. It represented Maṛichī of the Buddhist Tantras. Budhar Chaṇḍī means a

Chañḍi worshipped by the Buddhist. Though the royal family of Nilgiri now professes the Sākta religion the worship of the goddess Buddha Chañḍi reveals that their ancestors were Buddhists and that they themselves are Buddhists only in disguise.

From the brief history of the Bhauma dynasty given above one may realise to a certain extent the magnitude of its influence and power. With the expansion of the power of the Bhauma dynasty the whole of Eastern India extending from Eastern borders of Assam down to Ganjam coast of Orissa came under the influence of the ideals and the social customs and practices of Kamarupa. I have shown in the first volume of this work how this dynasty had been reputed since the time of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas for its heroism and what a high position it had all along enjoyed. The Raja-vañśavali by Raja Upendra Sinha of Rāni, Assam, who is a lineal descendant of the ancient Bhauma dynasty writes, "Inspired by king Duryodhana, his father-in-law Bhagadatta invited Brahmanas of the five gotras, viz, Kasyapa, Saṇḍilya, Bharadvāja, Upamaryu and Parāsara." From the Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskara Varma we learn that 3000 years after king Bhagadatta or his son Vajradatta, Pushya Varma was born into this family. In the first volume I have said that Pushya Varma ruled approximately between 275—300 A. D. The son of Pushya Varma was Samudra Varma who married Datta Devī. The name of the queen of his great contemporary Samudra Gupta was also Datta Devī, probably both married in the same family. Though related

Samudra Gupta fought with and defeated Vala Varma, son of Samudra Varmā, in connection with the performance of the Agvamedha sacrifice. This is recorded in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Inscription. Just as Samudra Gupta founded an empire which included at last the whole of the Indian sub-continent, Samudra Varmā extended his power to the Eastern Peninsula the shores of which were washed by the Pacific Ocean.⁵⁰ Thus the influence of the Bhauma dynasty had made itself felt in distant Burma before it began to spread in Eastern India. The origin of the grand architectural memorials of the Saivas which still exist in Kamboj or Cambodia and Anga (Mahā-Champa) or Anam should be traced to the Brahminic ascendancy which was firmly established by the Saiva kings of the Bhauma dynasty. Mahābhāta-Varmā or Bhāti Varma flourished in the fifth century A. D., who, as we learn from the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskara Varmā, gave an unique proof of his devotion to the Aryan religion by settling a large number of Brahmanas in his kingdom. How under the influence of these Brahmanas and their descendants Hindu society not only in Kamarupa but in the whole of Eastern India including Gauḍa, Vāṅga and Orissa was moulded would prove to be a story of absorbing interest to the students of Social Science. A fuller account of these Brahmanas will be found in the next chapter.

Though settling under the patronage of Bhāti Varma, the influence and status of these Brahmanas increased from the time of Bhāskara

(50) *Vide* The Social History of Kamarupa, Vol. I. p. 141-142.

Varmā. Some of the descendants of the Brāhmaṇas were established in the Rāḍha country by Bhāskara Varmā when he was reigning at Karṇasuvarṇa. I venture to think that Bhāskara Varmā was also called Ādigura in the old Kulakṛikās of Rāḍha on account of the fact that he was the first of the Bhaumas to rule over this country and was a Sāra or a hero. More will be said about this in the following chapter.

Harshadeva, a later king of the Bhauma dynasty gave his daughter in marriage to a prince of the famous Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal. The Bhauma dynasty afterwards formed matrimonial alliances with the Nāgas. Though this dynasty traditionally belonged to the caste called Mlechchha Dvija or Mech-Brahmaṇa, it virtually became Kshatriya by reason of its association with various Kshatriya families. The dynasty which at one time held sway over the regions extending from the Himalaya on the north to the Mahendrāchala on the south and from the shores of the Pacific Ocean in the east to the extreme limits of the province of Magadhā in the west has almost passed into oblivion. The rulers of modern Kuch Bihar are descended from that ancient dynasty, but they have not any knowledge of it.

Before concluding this chapter, I think it necessary to elucidate something more. Prof. Rādhā Govinda Basak after discussing the Tippera plate of Lokangtha has written thus :— "Another significant fact that may be brought to notice here in this plate, which we take to have belonged to the age of anarchy (*mātsya-*

nyāya) in Bengal, i. e., the time after the death of Harsha and before the rise of Pala kingdom in the eighth century. We do not find even a latent allusion to Buddhism, although the Pala kings themselves were Saugatas (Buddhists). From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang we learn that during this time he could find no sign of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa. We cannot possibly connect this plate with any of the Kāmarūpa kings of that time. We have seen that the ancestors of Lokanātha were devotees of Saṅkara and that his own Brahmanā mahāsamanta Pradosha Sarman (the grantee), wished to set up an image of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. The prevalence of Brahmanic influence in Eastern India at the time can be rightly inferred also from the mention in this inscription of the sacred fires, pauranic deities, Brahmanas versed in the four Vēdas, etc., as also from the fact that Brahmanas could be *Sāmanta* chiefs".⁵¹ The fact that Maharaja Bhaskara Varma joined the great Buddha-Yatra at Kanauj as also the discovery of his Seal at Nālanda, establishment of Jayatuṅga-Lokanātha by his descendant Jayatuṅga Varma, and the connection of Harshadeva of this line with the Nepal Buddhist king bears testimony to the fact that they were admirers of Buddhist religion. Sir E. A. Gait, the famous historian of Assam, has written in his Census Report thus :— "Traces of Buddhist architecture are discernible in the temple of Kāmākhyā, Sinheswar and Hajo, and the latter contains a statue of Buddha, which the common people called the Mahāmuni, and which is still visited by Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan and Tibet. Another statue of Buddha

(51) *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XV, p. 306.

is to be seen carved in the rock on the bank of the Brahmaputra below the dak-bungalow at Gauhati, and a ruined temple at Singri Parbat is like Hajo, in great repute amongst the Bhutias. In the life of Sankar Deb, we are told how he met with and converted two Buddhists in the Nowgong district, and the account of Ralph Fitch, who travelled in India in the sixteenth century, shows that Buddhist principles were still powerful amongst the people in the western part of the Koch kingdom. * * * During the years 629 to 645 A. D. Buddhism was unknown. * * * The Pal kings of Assam were ruled from 855 to 1040 A. D. and that Buddhism was at its zenith in Assam during their tenure of power.”²

From the above testimonies of the Buddhist influence, it is clearly understood that Buddhism was prevalent in Kamarupa from a very long time. I have noted it before that we have been intimated with Jayatunga Varma from the above Lokanatha plate. The image of Lokanatha at Samatapa was named after him. Even simultaneously with the advent of the Bhauma dynasty, one of their branch went to Orissa from Bengal, while the other seems to have gone to Kamarupa and spread Buddhist religion there. The Southern branch of the Bhauma dynasty openly declared themselves as pure Buddhist or Parama Saugata. The other branch in Kamarupa though had not declared openly as Buddhist, yet no one of them can be proved as hostile to the Buddhist religion.

- তস্তাপি বহুবংশা (২) নৃপতিঃ কল্যাণবর্ষনামাভূৎ (১)
তনয়ন্তনীয়সা-
14. মপি যো দোষণমনাবাসঃ ॥১০
গন্ধর্ব্ববতী তস্মাদ্ গণপতিমিব দানবর্ষণমজ্ঞশং (১)
15. গণপতিমগণিতগুণগুণমসূত কলিহানয়ে তনয়ং ॥১১
তন্মহিষী যজ্ঞবতী
2nd Plate 1st page.
16. যজ্ঞবতীবারুণি (:) সূতমসূত (১)
যজ্ঞবিধীনামাস্পদমনলমিব মহেন্দ্রবর্ষাণং ॥১২
তস্মাদ-
17. জনযদাত্মজমাত্মবিদঃ সূত্রতা ভুব (:)স্থিতয়ে (১)
নারায়ণবর্ষাণং জনকমিবামিগতসাংখ্যার্থং ॥১৩
18. প্রকৃতিবিব তস্ত পুংসো দেববতী স্থিরগুণানুবদ্য (১)
যষ্ঠমিব মহাভূতং দধৌ মহা-
19. ভূতবর্ষাণং ॥১৬
চক্ৰমুখস্তস্ত সূতশ্চক্ৰ ইব কলাকলাপিরমণীয়ঃ(১)
বিজ্ঞানব-
20. তী ষ্ঠোরিব যঃ সূমুবে ধবান্তশাস্তিকরং ॥১৫
ভোগবতী ভোগবতী ভূতেঃ স্থিতবর্ষণ-
21. সূতো হেতুঃ (১)
আসীদ্ভোগিপতেবিব ভূমিভূতানন্তভোগশ্চ ॥১৬
তস্মাদগাধ-
22. মূর্ত্তেবকলিতবত্ৰাহুপোচলক্ষীকাং (১)
কৌবোদধিবনুপাদকলঙ্ক-
23. শ্রীমৃগাক্ষোভূৎ ॥১৭
উদপাদি নয়নদেব্য(২) সূমুস্তস্ত স্ববাহুত-
24. বাজ্যঃ (১)
দেবঃ সূস্থিতবর্ষা যঃ খ্যাতঃ শ্রীমৃগাক্ষ ইতি ॥১৮
প্রভাবসংদিলসন্তী (২)
25. তদ্ধন ইব যাং মুদা হবির্বহতি (১)
সা শ্রীরর্ষিজনেভ্যঃ ক্ষিতিবিব বিশ্রাণিতা যেন ॥১৯
26. কার্ত্তবীৰ্য্যগীব শ্রামাদেবী তস্মাদজীজনন্তনয়ং (১)
শশিনমিব সূপ্রতিষ্ঠিত-
27. বর্ষাণমপান্তয়ে ত (ম)সাং ॥২০

ছায়োপাপ্রিতজনতাপরিবেষ্টিতপাদমূলো যঃ (২৫)

34. ইতাপি স জগদ্রয়কল্পনাস্তময়হেতুনা ভগবতা কমলসম্ভবেনা-
35. বকীর্ণ বর্ণাশ্রমধর্মপ্রবিভাগায় নিশ্চিতো-ভুবনপতিবিবোদয়ানুৎকমণ্ড-
36. লো যথাযথমুচিতকবণিক(ব)বিতরণাকুলিতকলিতিমিবসঞ্চয়-
37. তয়া প্রকাশিতার্থ্যধালােক(ঃ) স্বভূজবলতুলিতসকলসাম-
38. স্তচক্রেবিক্রম(ঃ)স্থিতিবিনয়সংস্তবোপচিতভক্তিষু প্রকৃতিষু পবম্পরীগামু
39. নিকামমুপকল্পিতানেকভোগীনবজ্রা সমববিজিতনবপতিশতবিহিত-
40. বিবিধনুতিবচনকুম্ভমবচিতকুচিবকৌর্তিচিত্রাবতংসাক্ষঃ শিবিবিব পর্বো-
41. পকাবিশ্রাণনাভিবতসত্ত্ববুদ্ভির্থাসময়মুদিত-গুণবিধিবিভাগ-
42. সম্বন্ধপটুতয়া স্তবগুরুবিবাপরঃ পটৈববহিতপ্রভাব(ঃ) শ্রুতশৌর্য্যধৈর্য্য-
43. শৌচীর্ঘ্যমুচবিঠৈবলঙ্কৃতাত্মবৃত্তিঃ প্রাপ্তপক্ষসংশ্রয়নিবাকুঠৈবিব বিব-
44. জিজ্ঞেতো দৌষৈবচলিতনিবস্তবপ্রণয়বসভবাকুঠকামরূপ-লক্ষ্মীসমা

3rd plate—1st page.

45. লিঙ্গনপ্রকটতাভিগামিকগুণানুবাগবৃত্তিঃ কলিযুগপবাক্রমকলিতবিগ্র-
46. হস্ত সমুচ্ছ্রাস ইব ভগবতো ধর্মশ্রু নয়শ্রাধিষ্ঠানমাম্পদং গুণানাং নিধিঃ
47. প্রণয়িনামুপনয়ঃ সত্ত্বস্তানাং শ্রীসম্পদামায়তনং বস্তুমতীমুতক্রমাধি-
48. গতপদসমুৎকর্ষদর্শিতপ্রভাবশক্তিস্মহাবাজ্রাধিধাজঃ শ্রীভাস্করবর্ম-
49. দেবঃ কুশলী ॥ চন্দ্রপুর্বিবিষয়ে বর্জদানভাবিনো বিষয়পতীনধিকর-
50. ণানি চ সহাজ্ঞাপয়তি বিদিতমস্ত ভবতামেতদ্বিষয়ান্তঃপাতিময়ুব-
51. শাল্লাগ্রহাবক্ষেত্রং বাক্সা শ্রীভূতি-বর্মণা কৃতং যংতত্ত্বান্নপট্টাভা-
52. বাৎ কবদমিতি মহাবাজেন জ্যেষ্ঠভদ্রান্ বিজ্ঞাপ্য পুনবশ্রাভিনবপট্টকরণায়
শাসনং
53. দব্ধাচন্দ্রাক্ষিতিসমকালমকিঞ্চিংপ্রগৃহতয়া ভূমিচ্ছিদ্রাত্ম্যেন পূর্কভো-
54. ত্ত্বাক্ষণেভ্যঃ প্রতাপাদিতং যত্র ব্রাহ্মণনামানি (।) প্রাচেতসো
বাজসেনয়ী পট্টকপ-
55. তিঃ অংশদ্বয়ভোক্তা সাধারণস্বা(মৌ) ॥ শ্রীবস্তুভ্রাতৃত্রয়েণ একোংশ(ঃ) ॥
সোমবস্তুভ্রাতৃসহিতোদ্বীংশ (ঃ) ॥
56. কাত্যায়নচ্ছান্দোগো মনোবধস্বা(মৌ)চতুর্থাংশহীনো দ্বিবাংশঃ পট্টকপতি(ঃ) ॥
অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) বিষ্ণুঘোষস্বামী ॥
57. বেদঘোষস্বা(মৌ) একাংশঃ ॥ যাক্ষে বাহুবৃচ্যো দামদেবস্বা(মৌ) অংশ (ঃ) ॥
ঘোষদেবস্বা(মৌ) অর্দ্ধাংশ (ঃ) ॥ নন্দদে-
58. বস্বা(মৌ) অর্দ্ধাংশ (ঃ) ॥ ভাবদ্বাজচ্ছান্দোগোর্বদন্তো গোত্র সহিতাধাৰ্দ্ধাংশ-
শ(ঃ) ॥ তুষ্টিদত্তস্বা(মৌ) অর্দ্ধাংশ-

3rd plate—2nd page.

59. শ(ঃ) ॥ কাশ্ৰপসগোত্রবাজসনেয়ী ঋষিদামস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ শুভদাম-
স্বা(মী) অংশ (ঃ) ॥ কোংসো বাজসনে-
60. য়ী শনৈশ্চৰভূতি(ঃ) গোত্রাংশ(ঃ) ॥ বাহুব্র্যো গোবাত্রেয় সঙ্কৰ্ণস্বা(মী)
দ্বিংশ(ঃ) ॥ নবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ নাৰায়ণ-
61. স্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ (ঃ) ॥ বিষ্ণুস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ সুদর্শনস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥
গোপেন্দ্রস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ অর্কস্বা(মী) অংশাচ্চতুর্থো ভাগঃ ॥
62. ভাসুস্বা(মী) (অ)র্দ্ধাংশ (ঃ) ॥ ভূয়স্বস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ কৃষ্ণাত্রেয়ো
বাজসনেয়ী যশোভূতি স্বা(মী) গোত্রাংশ (ঃ) ॥ ভবদ্বাজ-
63. শ্চান্দোগো বরুণস্বা(মী) অংশ (ঃ) ॥ কোণ্ডিণ্যো বাজসনেয়ী মধুসেনস্বা-
(মী) অংশ (ঃ) ॥ গৌতমশ্চান্দোগো —
64. ধ্রুবসোমস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ বিষ্ণুসোমস্বা(মী) অংশ (ঃ) ॥ ভাবদ্বাজো-
বাজসনেয়ী বিষ্ণুপালিতস্বা(মী)
65. (অ)র্ধার্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ শুচিপালিতস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ মিত্রপালিতার্থপালি-
তয়ো(ঃ) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥
66. প্রজাপতিপালিতস্বা(মী) অংশাচ্চতুর্থভাগ(ঃ) ॥ গৌতমো বাজসনেয়ী মধু-
স্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥
67. চক্রেদেবস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ বাৎসচাবক্যঃ কুশ্মাণ্ডপত্ৰস্বা(মী)
চতুর্থংশহীনপাদ(ঃ) ॥ ঐশ্বর-
68. দত্তস্বা(মী) দ্বিংশ(ঃ) ॥ মৌদগল্য বাজসনেয়ী সুদর্শন-দিনকরস্বামিভ্যা ম্
অংশঃ ॥ শৌনকে
69. বাজসনেয়ী যজ্ঞকুণ্ডস্বা(মী) (অ)র্ধার্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ যশ(ঃ)কুণ্ডস্বা(মী)
পাদাধিকেশ(ঃ) ॥ শ্রদ্ধকুণ্ডস্বা(মী) অংশ (ঃ) ॥
70. নাৰায়ণকুণ্ডস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ ঐশ্বরকুণ্ডস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধপাদাভ্যধিক(ঃ)
অংশ (ঃ) ॥ শক্তিকুণ্ডস্বা(মী)
71. অংশাচ্চতুর্থভাগ(ঃ) ॥ তোষকুণ্ডস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধপাদাভ্যধিক(ঃ) অংশ ॥
পাৰাশৰ্য্যচাবক-
72. সাধুস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ আশ্বায়নশ্চান্দোগ গঙ্গস্বা(মী) অংশ (ঃ) ॥
বাবাহো বাহুব্র্যো নবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥

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73. প্রবরনাগস্বা(মী) চতুর্থভাগহীনোংশ(ঃ) ॥ অপনাগস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ)
তোষনাগহস্তিনাগস্বামিভ্যা (ম্)
74. অংশাচ্চতুর্থো ভাগ(ঃ) ॥ কাশ্ৰপো বাজসনেয়ী মনঘোষস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥
বৈষ্ণবদ্বিশ্চান্দোগো

75. সন্নিবিশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) জনার্দনশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ কৌশিকো-
বাহুচ্যঃ(ঃ) অর্কশ্বা(মী) (অ)ধার্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ শ্রদ্ধদাস-
76. শ্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ গোতমো বাজসনেয়ী সনাতন-শ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
হর্ষপ্রভঃ(ঃ) গোত্রেশ সহ অর্ক্যাংশঃ-
77. শঃ(ঃ) ॥ কৌটিল্যো বাজসনেয়ী ঋগ্‌সোমশ্বা(মী) (অ)ধার্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ শ্রেয়-
স্বরগতিগৌরিসোমেষভ্যঃ
78. অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ বকুলসোমশ্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ ধৃতিসোমসিংহসোমশ্বামি-
ভ্যামর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ কৃষ্ণা-
79. ত্রেয়ো বাজসনেয়ী ভাষশঃ(ঃ) শ্বা(মী)(অ)ধার্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ যজ্ঞশ্বা(মী)
পাদাভ্যধিকোংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ দৈব-
80. শ্বা(মী)পাদাভ্যধিকোংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ দহিস্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ প্রহ্মাশ্বা(মী)
(অ)ধার্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ বৃদ্ধিশ্বা(মী) দ্বিবংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
81. দিবাকবহর্যাদুতত্বত্বৈতোনীগেভ্যঃ অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ কবেস্তমো বাজসনেয়ী
82. মেধশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ মাণ্ডব্যো বাজসনেয়ী বৃত্তিশ্বা(মী) গোত্রেশ সহ অংশচতু-
83. র্থভাগঃ(ঃ) ॥ কগ্রপেঃ বাজসনেয়ী কেশবশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ ভাৰ্ব্বাজো
বাজসনেয়ী গোবিশ্বা(মী)
84. অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ সুবচিতশ্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ ভাৰ্ব্বাজো বাজসনেয়ী বপ্নশ্বা(মী)
অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ কৌণ্ডিল্যো বাহুচ্যঃ
85. কর্দদন্তশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ ভাৰ্ব্বাজো বাহুচ্যঃ উদয়নশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
বসিষ্ঠো বাহুচ্যামেফদন্তশ্বা(মী)
86. অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ অগ্নিবেশ্বা বাজসনেয়ী নরেন্দ্ররেণুভূতিশ্বা(মী)ভ্যাম্ অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
মেধভূতিশ্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
87. সাঙ্কত্যাশ্বন চারক্যঃ চন্দ্রপক্ষশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ যাকো বাহুচ্য কাশিশ্বা(মী)
অংশঃ(ঃ)

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88. শ্বা(মী) (অ)ধার্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ভট্টমহেশ্বর
শ্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ পাবাশ্বর্যো বাহুচ্যো গোপালনন্দিশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
ভার্গবো
89. বিশ্বভূতিশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ সুবজ্জিতসুবচিতাভ্যাম্ অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥
ভার্ব্বাজন্তৈত্তিরীয় শিবগণ-
90. শ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) বাহুচ্য কাত্যায়নঃ ভ্রাতৃত্বয়েণ বশ্বশ্রীশ্বা(মী)
অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ কৌশিকো বাজসনেয়ী
91. বীরভূতিশ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ বিশ্বভূতিশ্বা(মী) অর্ক্যাংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ প্রমোদভূতি-
শ্বা(মী) অংশঃ(ঃ) ॥ ভাৰ্ব্বাজো বাজ-

92. সেনেয়ী বিষ্ণুদত্তস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ কোণ্ডিনো বাজসেনেয়ী বৃহস্পতিস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ যাক্কা
93. বাহু চ্য হর্ষদেবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ জাতুকল্পবাজসেনেয়ী মেঘস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ কৃষ্ণস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥
94. মাধবহরিভ্যাম্ অংশ(ঃ) ॥ ভাৰহাজ্জান্দোগো জনাৰ্দনদেবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ মৌদগল্যো
95. বাজসেনেয়ী বিষ্ণুসোমস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ গাৰ্গ্যাক্ষারক্যো ধনসেনস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ প্রমো-
96. দসেনঘোষদেনাভ্যাম্ অংশ(ঃ) ॥ সোমদেনস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ গৌতমো বাহু চ্য ভাস্কর-
97. মিত্ৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ মধুমিত্ৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥
98. মিত্ৰস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ ভাৰহাজো বাহু চ্য শুক্ৰভবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ পৌতিমাষ বাহু চ্য সুদৰ্শন-
99. ধনেশ্বৰস্বামিভ্যাম্ অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ শাণ্ডিল্যো বাজসেনেয়ী-ববিস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ মধুস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥
100. মহাধবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ পৌৰ্ণো বাহু চ্য ভট্টি-মহেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ ভট্টিমাত্স্য(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥
101. কুদ্ৰভট্টিস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ॥ কোশিকশ্ছান্দোগঃ অদ্বিবিবেপনস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ সাবল্লি-
102. কসগোত্রো বাজসেনেয়ী গোমিনাগস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ)

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103. শালঙ্কায়ন বাজসেনেয়ী সূর্য্যস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) । ভাৰহাজো বাজসেনেয়ী সবদেবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ।
104. শৰ্দদেবস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ॥ গোমিদেবস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) । সাবিত্ৰ দেবস্বা(মী) দ্বিংশ(ঃ) । অৰ্কদেবস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশ(ঃ) ।
105. সাধাৰণস্বা(মী) অংশাচ্চতুৰ্ভাগ(ঃ) । গাৰ্গ্যো বাজসেনেয়ী দামবাতস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) । ভাৰহাজো
106. বাজসেনেয়ী বসুদত্তস্বা(মী) দ্বিংশ(ঃ) । আলম্বায়নো বাজসেনেয়ী যোগেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ।
107. বিবেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) । দিব্যেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) । গণেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) । বৃধেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশ(ঃ) ।
108. জাভেশ্বৰাজেশ্বৰাভ্যাম্ অংশ(ঃ) ॥ ধৌতেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশাচ্চতুৰ্ভাগ(ঃ) ॥ মঘেশ্বৰস্বা(মী) অংশাচ্চতুৰ্ভাগ(ঃ) ।

109. জহ্নবীষবস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ নন্দেব্ববস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ আজিবসো
বাজসনেয়ী দাসভূতি-
110. স্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ কাশ্রপৌ বাহ্ল্য প্রকাশববস্বা(মী) ভ্রাতৃসহিতোংশঃ ॥
যাস্কো বাজসনেয়ী
111. গায়ত্রীপালস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ পারাশর্যো বাহ্ল্য শাস্ত্রশর্ম্মস্বা(মী)
অংশঃ ॥ কৌশিকো
112. বাহ্ল্য পদ্মদাসস্বা(মী) গোত্রাংশঃ ॥ গোবর্দ্ধনবজ্রপালপণ্ডিতদর্শনস্বামি-
113. ভ্যাম্ অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ পাকল্যছান্দোগো গোপালস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ কশ্রপ-
স্তুৈত্তিবীষ উগ্রদত্তস্বা(মী)
114. অংশঃ ॥ বাহ্ল্যপত্যো বাহ্ল্যো তট্টিনন্দস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ দেবকুলস্বা(মী)
অংশঃ ॥
115. জনাদানস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ সুনয়ননাবায়ণবৃদ্ধিস্বামিত্যঃ অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥
গৌতমো বাহ্ল্য-

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116. চ্য ঈষবভট্ট স্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ ভৃগুস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ ভাবদাজ বাহ্ল্য চরুদ্র-
বোষস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ কাভ্যায়নশ্চাবকঃ কৌশিকো-
117. মস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ গৌতমো বাজসনেয়ী প্রভাকবকীর্তিস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥
শাণ্ডিল্যো বাজসনেয়ী অনন্তস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥
118. শৌনকো বাহ্ল্যো গতিভট্টস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ তেজভট্টস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥
মন্ত্রবোষ তেজভট্টিনন্দ-
119. তিস্বামিত্যাম্ (অ)র্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ দামভট্টস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ মেধভট্টস্বা(মী)
অংশঃ ॥ স্মৃতিভট্টস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥
120. সুর্যোগভট্টস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ বাৎস্তো বাহ্ল্যো শাস্ত্রদামস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ ॥
গৌতমশ্চান্দোগ তোষস্বা(মী)
121. অংশঃ ॥ বাবাহো বাহ্ল্যো তট্টিববস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ ভাবদাজো
বাজসনেয়ী নাগদত্তস্বা(মী) অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥
122. আলদায়নো দূর্বেষবস্বা(মী) ভ্রাতৃ সহর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ ভাবদাজো রূপাচ্যস্বা(মী)
(অ)র্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ কৌশিক-
123. বাহ্ল্য চন্দ্রদাসবিমদানদাসস্বামিনোবেকোংশঃ ॥ কাশ্রপো বাজসনেয়ী
124. স্প্রতিষ্ঠিতস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ গৌতমনন্দনস্বা(মী) অংশঃ ॥ শাকটায়ন
তোষস্বা(মী)
125. অর্দ্ধাংশঃ ॥ গৌতমকাশ্রপয়ো সাবসবকুলস্বামিনোবেকোংশঃ ॥ ভাবদাজ
বিদুষ-

126. স্বামিনঃ অর্দ্ধাংশেচতি ॥ বলিচক্রসংগোপযোগায় সপ্তাংশাঃ ॥ বদেভৎ
কৌশিকোপচিতকক্ষেত্রং
127. তৎফলং প্রতিগ্রাহকব্রাহ্মণানামেব (I) যত্ন গঞ্জিগ্যুপচিতকক্ষেত্রং
তত্তথালিখিত-
128. কব্রাহ্মণৈঃ সমং বিভজ্যতামিতি ॥ সীমানো যত্র পূর্বেণ শুককৌশিকা ॥
পূর্বদক্ষি-
129. এন সৈব শুককৌশিকা ডুম্বৰীচ্ছেদসংবেত্তা ॥ দক্ষিণেনাপি ডুম্বৰীচ্ছেদঃ ॥
দক্ষিণ-
130. পশ্চিমেণ গঞ্জিগিকা ডুম্বৰীচ্ছেদসংবেত্তা ॥ পশ্চিমেনাধুনা সীমগঞ্জিগিকা ॥
পশ্চিমো-
131. ত্তবেণাকুস্তকাবগর্তসৈসব চ গঞ্জিগিকা প্রাগভূজ্যামানা ॥ উত্তবেণ
বৃহজ্জাটলী । উত্তবপূ-
132. বেণ ব্যবহারি খাসোকপুষ্কবিণী সৈব শুককৌশিকা চেতি ॥ আজ্ঞাশতঃ
প্রাপয়িতা-
133. প্রাপ্তপঞ্চমহাশল ত্রীগোপাল ঃ । সীমাপ্রদাতা চন্দ্রপুৰি-নায়ক ত্রীক্ষিকুণ্ডঃ
134. তায়কবণিক জনাদনস্বামী ব্যবহারিহৰদত্তকায়স্থ-হুঙ্কনাথ প্রভৃভঃ
135. শাসয়িতা লেখয়িতা চ বহুবলঃ ঃ ভাণ্ডাংগাধিকৃতমহাসামন্ত
দিবাকবপ্রভ ঃ
136. উৎখেটয়িতা দত্তকাবপূৰ্ণঃ । সেক্যকাব ঃ কালিয়া ॥ ষষ্টিং বর্ষসংস্রাণি স্বর্গে
মোদতি ভূমিদঃ (I)
137. আক্ষেপ্তা চান্নমস্তা চ তাগ্বেব নবকে বসেৎ ২৬
138. স্বদত্তাং পদদত্তাং বা যো হবেত বহুদ্ববাং (I) স বিষ্ঠায়াং কুম্ভী পিতৃভিঃ
সহ পচ্যতে ॥ ২৭
139. শাসনদাহাদর্বাগভিনবলিখিতানি ভিন্নরূপাণি (I) তেভ্যোক্ষবাণি বস্মা-
140. তস্মাট্টৈতানি কূটানি ২৮

APPENDIX A-1

THE NĀLANDA SEAL OF BHĀSKARA VARMA.*

- L. 1. [গণপতি]বক্ষা ত্রীযজ্ঞবত্যাং ত্রী [মহেন্দ্রবর্মণা]
- L. 2. [ত্রীমুত্র]তায়ং ত্রীনাৰায়ণবর্মণা [ত্রীবৈদ্যবত্যাং ত্রীমহাভূতবর্মণা]
- L. 3. [ত্রীবিজ্ঞান]বত্যাং ত্রীচন্দ্রমুখবর্মণা ত্রীভো[গবত্যাং]
- L. 4. [ত্রীস্থিতবর্মণা তেন ত্রীনয়নশোভায়াং ত্রীস্থিতবর্মণা]
- L. 5. [ত্রীশ্যামাদেব্যাং] ত্রীমুপ্রতিষ্ঠ
- L. 6. [বর্মণা ত্রীভা]স্ববমেতি ।

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OBVERSE.

- L. 1. १ কুমাৰামাত্যাধিকৰণঞ্চ স্কন্ধজুৰিবিয়ে ব্ৰাহ্মণাৰ্ঘ্যপুৰুষবান্ বৰ্ত্তমানান্
ভাবিনশ্চ শ্ৰীসামন্তম-...
2. ২ য়পতীন্ সাধিকৰণান্ সপ্ৰধান ব্যবহাৰিজনপদান্ বোধয়ন্ত্যস্ত বো
বিদিতমিহ হি ॥ য[ন্ত্ৰাশেষবিধি] ১—১
3. ৩ [ধ]ৰো বিগ্রহো যেনায়ঃ ভুবনত্রয় [হি]তিস্বপ্ৰাপ্ত্যৰ্থমাশ্ৰিধা [১]
প্ৰত্যেকং প্ৰভূতাদি তুল্যানহিমা— ১—১—১—১
4. কায়েনোজ্জিতমগ্নম্ স জয়তি ধ্বস্তান্ততঃ শঙ্কৰঃ ॥
শস্তোঃ পাদাজ্জবেণুপ্ৰকৰকৃতশিৰঃ পুত্ৰদিব্যাত্মিকৈকঃ
প্ৰাপ্তাচক্ষা ১— ১—১—১
5. মুনি-ভৰদ্বাজসদংশজাতঃ (১)
শ্ৰীমান্ প্ৰখ্যাতকীৰ্ত্তিঃ প্ৰভবদধিমহাৰাজশকাধিকাৰঃ (১)
সংসাৰোচ্ছিত্তিহেতুঃ প্ৰশমিতজৰিতো— ১নাথো
6. বনীশঃ ॥
স্বনুস্তম্ভ মহাঅনো গুণনিধেঃ প্ৰখ্যাতো বীৰ্য্যো মহান্
সামন্তো যুধি লক্ষপৌৰুষধনো ধৰ্ম্মাক্ৰিয়ৈকশ্ৰয়ঃ (১)
[শ্ৰীনা-
7. থো] ভগবানিৰ প্ৰতিহত[ব্য]পংস্বশক্ত্যাপদৈ-
বীৰ্য্যোভূদবনীতলপ্ৰকটিত প্ৰাপ্তব্যাব্যংক্ৰিয়ঃ ১
তন্ত্ৰাঅজোপ গুণবান্ ভব-
নাথনামা
8. সংসাৰসাগৰজলোত্তৰৈকচিত্তঃ (১)
ভ্ৰাতুঃ স্মৃতে গুণবতি প্ৰতিপাদ্য ভাজ্যঃ
শ্ৰীমানভূদ্বিসমো বি ১—১—১
9. স্বঃ ॥
তেনোদপাদি কুলসন্ততয়ে সদৃশঃ
বিলংপতিব্ৰতগুণাভবনোজ্জল্যাম্ (১)
গোত্ৰশ্ৰিয়ানিৰ মহোজাস গোত্ৰদেব্যাম-
10. ঐশ্বৰ্য্যিকাবিহিতজন্মনি পুত্ৰবৰ্ণাঃ ॥
যন্তা হাববসংজ্ঞকো দ্বিজবৰঃ প্ৰাৰ্থ্যো জনতাঃ পিতৃ
বীৰ্য্যো দ্বিজসন্তমো ১—১—১
11. মাত্তঃ প্ৰমাতামহঃ (১)
প্ৰখ্যাতো নৃপগোচৰো বলগণপ্ৰাপ্তাধিকাৰঃ কৃতী

সাদু: পাৰশব: শতামভিমতো মাতা(মহ:)

কেশব: ॥

12. দৌহিত্ৰসস্তু কেশবস্ত গুণবান্ সঠৈকবন্ধুগদা-
দৌদ গু-জলিতোত্তমাসি সচিব প্রজ্ঞাজয়ৎসাধন: (১)
নিৰ্ব্যা-
13. জোৰ্জিতসত্ত্বসাবতুৰগ: শ্ৰীলোকনাথো নৃপো
যশিন্দ্ৰপৰামেশ্বৰস্ত বহুশো যাতং ক্ষয়ং সৈনিকম্ ॥
হুলজ্যেবা
14. জয়তুজবর্ষসমবে সত্ত্ব: প্রয়োগার্থিনাং
নীতো নীতিবিধানতোতিচতুৰো নিত্য প্রহৃষ্টপ্রজ: (১)
মৈত্রাপাদিতনির্বৃত্তবহু [গু]-
15. গো বিদগ: প্রয়সর্কদা-
সার্ব: সাদুসমাপ্রয়: পটুমতি: লক্ষপতাপোদয়: ॥
ইত্যাশ্রমস্ত স্বানিচ্চিতকৃত্যবস্ত-
শ্ৰীজীব-
16. ধারণ-নৃপস্ত U—U [পেত্য।]
যশৈ দদৌ স্ববিষয়ং সহ সাধনেন
শ্ৰীপটুপ্রাপ্তকৰণায় বিহায় যুদ্ধং ॥
তৎসুতৰাজপুত্র-
17. লক্ষ্মীনাথ [দূতকেনাজ্ঞা অ]গন্ত্য সগোত্রস্ত ব্রাহ্মণস্ত দেবগমণ:
প্রপৌত্রেণ জয়শর্মস্বামিন: পৌত্রেণ দ্বিজগুরু জ-
18. নতাতিতোষস্ত [তো]ষশর্মণো বিপ্রস্ত পুত্রেণ যথাবিধি-
হত্যাগ্ৰাহিতবৃদ্ধস্বামিন: প্রমাতামহস্ত হুনো প্রথিতগু-
19. নগণস্ত ধর্মার্জ[নতয়া] বৃহস্পতিস্বামিনো হুহিতবি যথার্থি-
জনভার্থিতার্থদত্তসুবচনায়াং সুবচনায়াং ব্রাহ্মণ্যামুৎপ-
20. শ্বেন যথাচাৰ্যচরণপ্রতিষ্ঠিতোভয়কুলপ্রাপ্ত[জয়]না বিদিতভূজ
বলবীৰ্য্যোঃ চন্দ্রসাদুজনাং-উপভূজ্যমান-বিভবগোদাৰায়ণনা-
দ্বিজগুনা [বি]
21. লুপ্তাশেষ-দোষণ মহাসামন্ত অশ্বশর্মণা বিজ্ঞাপিতা বয়ং
সু[ব্রহ্ম]বিষয়ে মৃগমহিষবাহব্যাজসবীষ্যাদিতি যথৈচ্ছমহুভূজ্য-
মান গৃহ-
22. সম্ভোগগহনগুণলতানিতানে কৃতাকৃতাবিকৃষ্টবীভূতগে ময়।
দেবাবসথং কাবখিতা ভগবানবিদিতান্তোনন্তনাবাচন্য আপদিতা.....
23. [দি] মামোপবি কৃতপ্ৰায়া: পাদস্ত গ ভগবতোমহাবাহুৰদিনকব
শশধবকুবেরকিন্নবিতাধবমহোবগমহাবিক্রণ যাক্ষ].....

- 24.....ভিষ্টু তবপুসোন হনাবায়গত্ৰ সত্ততমষ্টপুপি কাবলিচক্ৰসত্ত্ৰপ্ৰবৃত্তয়ে
তত্ত কৃতসামান্যানাঞ্চ চাতুৰিগ্ৰন্থাঙ্গাৰ্যাং.....
- 25.....তাবিরুদ্ধাটবীভূতঃ তায়েভিলেখ্য মাতাপিত্ৰো মমচ পুণ্যপ্ৰবৃত্তয়ে
সৰ্বতো ভোগেনা[গ্র]হাঞ্চ
- 26.....[লোক]নাথেন...প্ৰতিপা[দিতো]...পৰম...

REVERSE

27. (Cut off in parts and illegible in the rest)
28.ণ . গ. স্বামি. হ. ত [শ্ৰী].....ন...ট.....
29.ধ কে চতুশ্চত্বাৰিংশং সংবৎসৰে কান্ত[ন্যাসে].....এ. কবন্ধ
দশেনৈকশ্চ.... ..
30.[অ]ত্র পূৰ্ণেণ কণামোটিকা পৰতো দক্ষিণেন পঞ্চবাণিকোভয়গ্রাম
সীমা পশ্চিমেণ জয়েশ্বৰ তান্নিপথবৰত্ৰ.....
31.বলমণ্ডলিকা উত্তৰেণ মহত্তববণ্ডভপুষ্কৰিণী ইত্যেবমবধৃত চতুঃসীমক
সুবুদ্ধকাকুতাবিরুদ্ধাটবী-থণ্ডে.....
32.পট্টা [ৰোপিতো] মহাসামন্ত প্ৰদোষশৰ্মণো মাতাপিত্ৰোৰশ্চ
চ পুণোপচয়ায় এতদীয় মঠে ৬গবতোনন্তনাবায়গত্ৰ পুষ্কাবিধিসম্পত্তয়ে
33. দত্তপ্ৰত্যেকপাটকভাগোত্তমকুদৈৰ্ঘ্য ৬ ভট্টানন্তদেবস্বামি পাটক ৯ ভট্টধম
দামপাটক ১ ভট্টনাগদত্ত পাটক ১ ভট্টকেশব পাটক ১ ভট্টগদ.
34. নন্দ পাটক ১ ভট্ট মেঘসোম পাটক ১ উদয়চন্দ্ৰ পাটক ১ ভট্ট মনোজ্ঞ-
দেব পাটক ১ খলিষকমণ্ডিতকপ্ৰ৬প্ৰাপি ভট্ট জয়সোম-
35. স্বা ম অৰ্দ্ধপাটক ভট্টপূৰ্ণদাম দ্রো ২০ ভট্ট বিদেশ দ্রো ২০ ভট্টযজ্ঞদেব
দ্রো ২০ ভট্ট আশ্বদেব দ্রো ২০ দ্বাদশস্বামি দ্রো ১০ ভট্টপূৰ্ণ
36. ঘোষ দ্রো ১০ ভট্ট উগ্রসোম দ্রো ২০ ননোৰথ সাধাবণং ববি X লবাসংশ্চাল
ভিক্ষতভাত পাটকদ্বয় ২ হৰিশৰ্ম দ্রো ১৭ জনসোম দ্রো ১৫
37. বিন্দ দ্রো ১৫ ভট্টভানু.....[দ্রো ১০] [কণবিশ্বখজ্ঞাবদ]ৰ বিচক্ষণ
প(তিগোবৰ্দ্ধন)প্ৰভাববিষ-বিষ্ণু-ছন্দস্বৰি পিতৃকেষিৰন্তব
38. ত(?) হৰ্ষভূতি সূভাতভণ্ড অৰ্দ্ধ হৰ্ষমা[দ্রথ]লিশ.....জদবুদ্ধিদ্রোহ
অটব্যামশ্চৈব দ্রো ২০ বিদগ্ধপ্ৰমুখ পাটক ১কক [দ্রো] ২০ মহেশ

39. তেজসোম জনাৰ্দ্দনান্দ্ নৃগ.....সদেশ(?)শঙ্কৰ দ্ৰো ২০ ক্ৰদ্বিকসিত
দিবাকৰ হৰিশ-বিজয়-বামন-গোপি-শৰ্ম(আনন্দ)নিৰ্দ্ধাৰ
40. স্মৃতোষলছাকাভ্যাং পাটক ১ ন.....স্বস্বভূতঃ পাটক ১ ক্ৰদ
দামোদৰাভ্যাং পাটক আন্দ নৃসোম বিদগ্ধ জনাৰ্দ্দন উপ-
41. তি স্বন্দ ঈশান.....ন....পতিকৃষ্ণভঃক্ৰদ্বৰটজনসোমবিদগ্ধবগ্ন ধৃতি
অবলিগ্ধ কোণ্টগ্নবুদ্ধদত্তশৰ্ম
42. বগ্নশৰ্ম...এ...ন...(ধাম নবচক্ৰ...জয়শিববিষ্ণুস্বজাতশৰ্ম দ্ৰো ২০বক্ৰ-
বেদজু লব্বুধৃতি জয়মিত্ৰ দেবশ্ৰধু বিদেশজীব মহাসক
43. বিহি স্মৃতউগ্র প্রত্যোষক....অৰ্থ অদ্ভু সন্তোষদৈতগণ রূপসন্ত বিষ্ণুমিত্ৰ
নিস্তাৰণ গোবিন্দ কোণ্টগ্ন কণাভূগ্ধ-প...
44. বগ্ন স্মৰ্ণেণ লব্বুস্.....ক.....[লিঙ্গ]শোক হৰ্ষো শুভশুণতোষবগ্ন
শোকবগ্ন অতিথি ভাহু স্বীৰগণ নিধি...
45. ভদ্র জনাৰ্দ্দন ভাস্কৰবগ্ন.....[দ্ৰো] ২০ দেবদত্ত দ্ৰো ২০
ধনস্কৰ ভট্ট ব্ৰহ্মদত্ত দ্ৰো ২০ ভট্ট অপদত্ত দ্ৰো ২০স্বামিদত্তবগ্ন চন্দ্ৰগন...
46. কৃষ্ণ-হৰিষ-বিকসিত-মনোবথ বৃকশ-নয়নচিত্ৰবিপাশিতবজ্জ-শুক্ৰততোষ
জবগ্নগি অতি মৰ্কট-চক্ৰপ্ৰাণ নন্দসাধাৰণ....
47. ভট্টসাধাৰণ দ্ৰো ২০ ক্ষেমভূতি পাটকবগ্ন বগ্নদেবপ্রশান্তভূষামি প্রকাণ
গৌণ পাটকৰাজি প্ৰিয়দাম দ্ৰো ২০ আনন্দ ইন্দ্ৰস্বামি দ্ৰো [২০]...
48. নাৰায়ণ-হৰিদেব-চক্ৰকেশ পাটক ১ ভট্টস্ব ৩ দ্ৰো ১০ ভট্টপিঙ্গুদেবশ্ৰ
পাটক ১ নন্দগোপ বনমালি জিলোটন থ[হ]....
49. সন্তোষযোগাগ পাটক পূজিষ্ণু [অহি] ..[স্বামি] পাটক ৯ সমুদ্রসজ-
সন্তোষ জয়শৰ্মদৈদব ইবটি(?) নববিজয় শঙ্কুবিজয় গুপ্তজয়...
50.ভট্টাংশ্ববি দ্ৰো ৯ প্ৰিয় দ্ৰো ১০ মধুবা.....লক্ষণধননন্দ
পৰশালোশো ইন্দ্ৰহৰিধৃতি ইচ্ছদেবগণ-ধং(?)মহাৰাজদধিভট্ট সৰ প...বক
51. [কৃত্য] ভূময়স্তম্ৰপটে সমাৰোপিতা অস্ত্রমাতাপিত্ৰোৰাশ্বানশচ পুণ্য প্রস-
বার্থং ভগবদনন্তনাৰায়ণায় যথালিখিত ব্ৰাহ্মণেভ্যশ্চ সৰ্ব তা ভোগেনাগ্ৰ
52.বা সঙ্গমতীৰ্থপূজনোপচীৰ্যমান সংস্কারস্বান্ নৃপগৌৰবাতিথ্যেয়প্ৰিয়-
দ্বাচ্চ সততমনুসন্তব্যঃ পালনীয়শ্চ দানোচ্ছ্ৰেয়োনুপালনং.....
53.দোষদৰ্শনায় ভগবতা ব্যাসেন গীতাঃ শ্লোকাঃ-

যষ্টিস্বর্ষসহস্রাণি স্বর্গে মোদতি ভূমিদঃ ।

আক্ষেপ্তা চানুমম্বা চ তান্তেব...

54.ভো। যত্নাদবক্ষ যুধিষ্ঠিৰ

মহীং মহীমতাঞ্জেষ্ঠদানাচ্ছে য়োমুপালনং ॥

কহ্তিৰ্বক্ষধা দত্তা রাজভিস্‌সগবাদিভিঃ ।

যশ্চ যশ্চ.....

55.ফলমিত (॥) কৃতং সাক্ষিবিজ্ঞহিক প্রশান্তদেবেন ভোগি
বদাসশ্চ দ্রো ২০ পাচক বসু দ্রো ২০ ভ.....৭

56,.....বাক্ষেন ণ্ডধাম দ্রো ২০ বিবহ দ্রো ১০

উৎখাতকামণ নবদন্তশ্চ দ্রো ১৯ প্রকৃতায় পাদমূল্য.....

57.....বক অবিব.....ততয়া.....শ.....সিত.....

CHAPTER I. APPENDIX C

NEULPUR GRANT OF SUBHĀKARADEVA

Front side.

১. ওম্ সন্তি । জয়স্কাবাবাং শুভদেবপাটকাৎ* । অভূতুপতিভৌমায়্যাঃ
বাপ্তজন্মশবদমলশশধৰ ঋবনিকবযশোবাশিধবলিতদিগা-
2. ননঃ প্রতাপদহনঃ দক্ষাবাতীকনঃ স্বধর্ম্মাবোপিতবর্ণাশ্রমঃ পরমোপা-
সকোমুগতাচানা মা ত্রীক্ষেমক্ষবদেবঃ [1] শ্রীভরসহস্রঙ্গীতমহিমাকাব-
3. ণানুরূপকায়জন্মতোপি তথাবিধ এব তদাত্মজঃ পরমতথাগতো নবপতিঃ
ত্রীশিবকব-দেবনামা [1] ততোপি লক্ষপ্রসবঃ প্রশমিতামুচিতাধিপত্যভি-
4. লাবিত্ববৃত্তদায়াদজনাধীযমান জগদুপপ্রবঃ ঞ্ণনিয়নিধিঃ প্রজাপালন-
তৎপবঃ পরমসৌগতো মাতাপিতৃপাদামুখ্যাত-
5. মহাৰাজ শ্রীশুভাকবদেবঃ কুশলী । উত্তবতোসল্যাং । বর্তমান
ভবিষ্যন্মহাসামন্ত-মহাৰাজ রাজপুত্রান্তবজ্জকুমার্যোপবিক বিষয়পতি
6. তদায়ুক্তক দণ্ডপাশিক স্থানান্তরিকাত্তানপি রাজপাদোপজীবিনশ্চাট
ভটবল্লভজাতীয়ান পাঞ্চালবৃত্তাদয়বিষয়যোঃ । মহাম-
7. হস্তরন-বৃহদ্রোগিক-পুস্তপালাত্তধিকবণং যথার্থস্থানয়তি সমাজ্ঞাপয়তি-
বোধয়তি চ বিদিতমস্ত ভবতামেতদ্বিষয়দ্বয়সম্বন্ধ প-

* Mr. Banerji reads শুভদেবপাটকাৎ ।

† Mr. Banerji reads বৃগুগাং ।

8. সৰ্বত্ৰোণী কোম্পৰাকগ্রাম-দণ্ডাক্ষিয়োকগ্রামৌ সোপৰিকৰৌ সোদেৰৌ
সৰ্বসীড়াবৰ্জিতকীৰ্ত্ত্য সলোণপুৰাধিবাস ইতি । নামধেয়ং ক-
9. স্বা মাতাপিত্ৰোৰাশ্বনঃ সৰ্বসন্ধানাঞ্চাচন্দ্রাৰ্ক্ষিতিসমকালম্পূৰ্ণাভি-
বুদ্ধয়ে নানাগোত্ৰচৰণেভ্যশ্চতুৰ্দ্ধিগ-ব্রাহ্মণেভ্যো যথামুক্ৰমেণ
10. বহুচভট্ট কেশবদেব । ভট্ট পুরুষোত্তম । বাল্লনস্বামী । সম্পূৰ্ণস্বামী ।
গোষ্ঠদেবস্বামী । ভট্টবৰিকৰদেব । ভট্টচতুৰ্দ্ধদসায়কৰদেব । ভট্টচতুৰ্ধ-
11. দ উগ্ৰোতকৰদেব । ভট্ট প্ৰভাকৰ । ভট্ট ভাস্কৰ । ভট্ট হৰিদেব । ভট্ট
বাসুদেব । ভট্ট শতদমন । পুরুষোত্তম স্বামি । প্ৰগ্ৰোতস্বামি । মহাবলস্বা-
12. মি । নৰসিংহ স্বামি । ত্ৰিবিক্ৰমচন্দ্ৰ স্বামি । পদ্মপাল স্বামি । পদ্মনাভ
স্বামি । গোবৰ্দ্ধনস্বামি । শ্ৰীধৰস্বামি । মধুদীক্ষিত : ঋষভস্বামি । অগ্নিহো-
13. ত্ৰিশ্চন্দ্রদেব । অগ্নিহোত্ৰি শ্ৰীধৰ । ভট্টপৰিতোন । ভবদেব স্বামি । বাসু-
দেবস্বামি । উৎপলস্বামি । ভট্টজাৰাশ্বন । ভট্ট বৰদেব । ভট্ট কামদেব । কে-
14. শবস্বামি । মহাদেবস্বামি । গোষ্ঠভূতিস্বামি । প্ৰভাকৰস্বামি । গোবৰ্দ্ধনস্বামি ।
শশীচন্দ্ৰ স্বামি । ভট্ট শ্ৰীধৰভূতি । ভট্ট লোকভূতি । ছাত্ৰ বিষ্ণুস্বামি ।
15. ...মিদেবস্বামি । সাস্ত্ৰস্বাম্যো । শম্ভু স্বামি । ত্ৰিবিক্ৰমস্বামি । ভট্টনবকদেব ।
দূৰ্জস্বামি । মাধবস্বামি । বামনস্বামি । উৰ্ণাস্বামি । এবং বাজসনেয়ি শ্ৰীভট্ট
16. (সৰ্বনা)গ । ভট্ট বিষ্ণুবৰ্দ্ধন । শাস্ত্ৰিবৰ্দ্ধন । স্থিৰবৰ্দ্ধন । বৃষভবৰ্দ্ধন । শুভ
লক্ষণ । হৰিঘোষ । ভট্ট শক্ৰদত্ত । প্ৰমোদস্বামি । দামোদৰস্বামি । নৰদ-
17. ত্ত স্বামি । [হৰ্ষ]দত্তস্বামি । বৎসদত্তস্বামি । ভট্টদিবাকৰ । ভট্টদিনকৰ ।
ভট্ট দেবকুণ্ড । দেউকাৰস্বামি । গোমিচন্দ্ৰ স্বামি । বসুভদ্ৰস্বামি ।
হৃষীকেশ । জনাৰ্দ্দন স্বামি । বেদ
18. শৰ্ম্ম স্বামি । শ্ৰীধৰ স্বামি । পুরুষোত্তম স্বামি । ভট্ট যজ্ঞস্বামি ।
দড়িস্বামি । ভট্টোদয়কুণ্ড । বটুদামোদৰ । শুভাকৰ স্বামি । ভট্ট
পুৰুষোত্তম । এড়ু স্বামি ; পৃথিবীস্বামি । থিবোৰামি ।
19. ক্ৰবদেবস্বামি । ছাত্ৰিনাৰায়ণ স্বামি । কুমাৰভূতি স্বামি । ভট্টগোবিন্দ ।
গোষ্ঠদেব স্বামি । দূৰ্জাকুটস্বামি । ঋষিনাগ স্বামি । ভট্টমনোৰথ ।
গাড়স্বামি । স্থাবৰ স্বামি । ভট্টসুদৰ্শন ।

Back side.

20. ভট্ট গাড়দেব । স্থিৰদেব স্বামি । ব্ৰহ্মস্বামি । এবং ছান্দিস ভট্ট
আপৰদেব । রুদ্ৰদেবস্বামি । মহাদেব স্বামি । অগ্নিহোত্ৰিমাধবস্বামি ।
দদাস্বামি । ভণ্ডস্বামি । সিতিকণ্ঠস্বামি । বন-
21. মালস্বামি । কেশবস্বামি । সঙ্কস্বামি । ক্ষীৰোদস্বামি । পৃথিবীস্বামি ।
মন্দৰদেব স্বামি । মধুসূদন স্বামি । হৰদেব স্বামি । শ্ৰীধৰস্বামি । ভট্ট
মহাদেব । ভট্ট ত্ৰিভুবন । ভট্ট জনা

22. দীন। ভট্ট ভবদেব। নরাকোণা স্বামি। ভট্টকাহ্নদেব। ভট্টগোবিন্দদেব।
শৌভনদেব। বোবা স্বামি। দ্বিতীয় বোবা স্বামি। বেল্লুস্বামি।
চচ্চাস্বামি। উৎপলদেব স্বামি।
23. কুৰ্মস্বামি। বৃষভস্বামি। ক্রবদেবস্বামি। শুভদেবস্বামি। এড়ুস্বামি।
মাধবদেবস্বামি। গোবিন্দদেবস্বামি। কাৰুস্বামি। বলভদ্রস্বামি।
ঋষিভস্বামি। ঋষিকেশস্বামি।
24. ধূলারতস্বামি। এড়ুধৰস্বামি। ভাহৰস্বামি। গোবক্ষিতস্বামি।
পছমস্বামি। দামুস্বামি। ঋষিস্বামি। দুৰ্ভস্বামি। শঙ্কৰভূতিস্বামি।
ছাত্র বাসুদেবস্বামি। অগ্নি
25. ছোত্রি ভয়াস্বামি। এবং অথৰ্কা ভট্টপুৰোহিত ভবদেব। ভট্ট দক্ষো।
অন্তঃপুৰাস্বামি। ভট্টদদাস্বামি। দামোদৰস্বামি। নাৰায়ণস্বামি। বলভ-
স্বামি। বলভদ্রস্বামি।
26. পদ্মনাভস্বামি। বুদ্ধস্বামি। ধাক্রিস্বামি। ইন্দ্রশৰ্ম্মস্বামি। হংসদেবস্বামি।
ভাবস্বামি। পুণ্ড্রস্বামি। ভূমিদেবস্বামি। মেরুদেবস্বামি। ভবদেবস্বামি।
অপৰ বলভদ্রস্বামি।
27. অপৰ ভবদেবস্বামি। ঘড়িস্বামি। গোবিন্দস্বামি। সোমস্বামি।
বপ্পটস্বামি। গয়াধৰস্বামি। হলধৰস্বামি। মালাধৰস্বামি। কেশব-
বিশ্বস্বামি। মহাধৰস্বামি। বোলাস্বামি। ভব
28. স্বামি। শীতলস্বামি। চক্ৰস্বামি। দামোদৰস্বামি। মেরুস্বামি।
ভাড়াস্বামি। সাগৰস্বামি। আটকদদাস্বামি। ক্রবস্বামি। ককাস্বামি।
মধুসূদনস্বামি। অবদিতদদাস্বামি। অপৰ শীত-
29. লস্বামি। ভট্টপুত্র মধুসূদন। ভট্টপুত্র শিবদেব। হণ্ডিকাতি
পুণ্ড্রস্বামি। আপস্বামি। পৃথিবীস্বামি। জীবানন্দস্বামি। বকুণস্বামি।
ঋষিধামিভ্যঃ একত্র ব্রাহ্ম-
30. ৭ শতদ্বয়। তামপট্টেনাকবহেন-অস্মাভিঃ। প্রতিপাদিতো-স্তুদে)
ষাম্পদন্তি ধৰ্ম্মগোববাং ভবন্তিঃ প্রতিপালনীয়ৈতি সঘৎ ৮ মার্গ যদি ২৩।
31. উৎকর্ষ ধৰ্ম্মশাস্ত্রে বহুভিৰ্বক্ষণ দত্তা বাক্তিঃ সগবাদিভিঃ। যন্ত যন্ত যদা
ভূমিস্তন্ত তস্য তদা ফলং। যা ভূদফলশঙ্কা বঃ পবদন্তেতি
32. পার্থিবাঃ (১) সদানাতঃ পৰমানন্ত্যঃ পবদন্তানুপালনে। বস্তিধৰ্ম্মসহস্রাণি
স্বৰ্গে মোদতি ভূমিদঃ। আক্ষেপ্তা চানুমন্তা চ তাং৭।
33. নবকং বদেৎ। বহুনাত্র কিমুক্তেন সংক্ষেপাদিদমুচ্যতে। স্বলমায়শ্চলা
ভোগাদম্ভো লোকদ্বয়েক্ষয়ঃ। দ্রুতকোএ মহাক্ষপটলা-
34. ধিকৰণাধিকৃত সমুদ্রদত্তঃ। লিপিতং মহাক্ষপটলিক ভোগিকব্রহ্মদত্তেন।
তাপিতং পেটুপাল নাৰায়ণেন। উৎকীৰ্ণং তটঠকাৰ এড়দত্তেন।

CHAPTER I. APPENDIX D.

CHAURASI GRANT OF SIVAKARADEVA

OBVERSE.

- L. 1. ওম্ সিদ্ধিঃ স্বস্ত্যস্তমিতসমস্তসামন্ত মহামহিম্বসমঙ্গজবা-
 2. জগজ্জিত সজ্জীতকং মুবজ্জধনিঃ। গুহদেবপাটকাধিবাসিনঃ বিজয়-
 3. স্বক্কাবাং। ভোম্যস্ত মহতিথ্যাতিঃ গুণমালোত্তমে কুলে
 4. অভূদভূতাপূৰ্ণোশ্বিন্ শ্রীশিবক্ৰবঃ কবঃ। তস্ত পুত্রস্ত তংপা-
 5. দানুধ্যাত শ্রীমন্নিধিপতিকুলসম্বন্ধজায়া মহাদেবাং হ্রজ-
 6. যাবলিদেবাং সমুৎপন্নঃ পৰমভট্টাবকো মহাবাজাধিবাজ পৰ-
 7. মেশ্বৰঃ শ্রীশুভাকবদেবঃ। কৌশিষদক্ষিণে বাবধাবদধঃ কা (?)
 8. ধনেন্দ্রা মহেন্দ্রা ভূমীয়া গাহবা সমলজলা জাহুবী সিদ্ধ
 9. মদ্রা বম্যায় পাপহন্তা পুৰ্থ সিদিশে মহানুৎকলেজ্ঞস্ত যৎ
 10. তস্ত পুত্রস্ত তংপাদানুধ্যাত শ্রীমন্নিধিপতিকুলসম্বন্ধজায়া
 11. মহাদেবাং শ্রীমাধবদেবাং সমুৎপন্ন পৰমভট্টাবকো মহাবাজাধি-
 12. বাজ পৰমেশ্বৰ শ্রী বিবকবদেব কুশলী। দক্ষিণতোসলাং বৰ্ত্ত-
 13. মান ভবিষ্যৎ মহাসামন্ত মহাবাজ বাজপুত্রান্তবঙ্গ কুমাৰা-
 14. মাত্যোপৰিক বিষয়পতি তদায়ুক্তক দণ্ডপাশিক স্থানান্তৰিকানি বা-
 15. জপাদোপজীবিনশ্চাটভটবল্লভজাতীয়ান্তবঙ্গ বিষয়ম-

REVERSE

16. হ মহন্তব বহৎভোগিপুস্তপাল কোটপাল সাধ্যাধিকৰণং যথার্থং
 17. স্বৰাত বোধয়তি সমাজাপয়তি সবিদিতমন্ত ভবতামেতদাধময়
 18. সম্বন্ধ বরদগ্রাম সোপৰিকৰ সোদেধঃ সতন্তবায়ো গোকুল
 19. শৌণ্ডিকাদি প্রকৃতকঃ স্থানাদি গুল্মক সৰ্পপীড়াবিবাজ্জিতো লেখ-
 20. ন প্রবেশতয়া ভূমিছিদ্রায়েনাচন্দ্রাৰ্কক্ষিতসমকালে
 21. মাত্যাপিত্রোবাত্মনশ্চ সৰসংগংচ পুণ্যবুদ্ধয়ে কাত্যায়নস
 22. গোত্রায় বৈশ্বানৰ মিত্র কাঠখিল্ল পৰবায় ঋগ্বেদচৰণ জ
 23. ল্ল ভট্টায় এ মম্মাঃস্তাম্রশাসনীকৃত্যায়ান্নীবীধম্বেণা-
 24. কবৎহেন প্রতিপাদিতং ধৰ্ম্মগৌৰবঃ ভবন্তিঃ পায়পান-
 25. নীয়া সম্বৎ ১৩ কাৰ্ত্তিক সুদি দ্বাদশী। উক্তঞ্চ ধম্মশাস্ত্রে
 26. বহুভিবৎসা দত্তা বাজভিঃ সগবাদিভিঃ যন্ত যন্ত যদা

27. ভূমি তন্ত্ৰ তন্ত্ৰ তদা কলঃ । স্বদন্তাং পৰদন্তায়া যো হবেত ব-
 28. স্কন্ধবাং সাক্ষীয়াং কুমিভূত্বা পিতৃভিঃ সহ পচ্যতে । ত্রী
 29. চিবজ বাস্তব্য তষ্টাকার ইবিবর্জনেন লিখিতমিত ।

APPENDIX E.

HINDOL PLATE OF SUBHĀKARADEVA II.

Front side.

- L 1. ওম্ স্তুতি শ্রবনদজলদিবদে বৃন্দবঙ্গতুবৎমমহোশ্মিত্তাং কাশাৎ ।
 অস্তোনিধেবিঃ জি-
 2. তাখিলবাজলোকশুভ্রাতপত্রপৃথুপেন বিতানগোবাৎ ॥ শুহদেবপাট-
 কাবাসিত জয়স্কন্ধাবাৎ
 3. ভৌমান্ববায়কমলাং ব-ভাস্কবেষু লক্ষ্মীকবাতিষু নৃপেষু দিব- গতেষু ।
 আতিথ্যসংকৃতি সমস্তম-
 4. দেববাজ শ্রীমন্নিজাসনে নিধেয়নল্লালিতেষু ॥
 তদনয়ে জিতাৰাতিবভূং পরমদোগত ত্রৈলোক্যাবলনং কীর্ত্তি নৃপতিঃ
 শ্রীশুভাকরঃ ॥
 প্রজাপতিঃ সৰ্বপি সত্যভাসা সমন্বিতোঃ পরমেশ্বৰোপি ।
 6. শ্রুতো বিশ-দীন বদাচিদেব কৃতাৰিদীপ্তঃ পুরুষোত্তমোপি ॥
 তন্ত্ৰাত্মজস্ত্রিদিববাজ ইব প্রসূতো দুর্কারবৈ
 7. ব-লান্দলনৈকবারঃ ।
 পূৰ্ণাতিষ্ঠাপি দিমণাতুললালিতত্রী খ্যাণে জগতি শান্তিকরঃ ক্ষিতীশঃ ।
 8. ত্যাগেষু যন্ত নৃপতেবতুলো ভূবেষু সংকীর্ত্তিতেষু ভূবনে দ্রবিণাধিপন্ত্ৰ ।
 নিঃসংশয়ঃ ধনদঃ ইত্যতিধানদে
 9. তদ্বাপি চরম্পদজ্জনাযুপোত ॥
 তন্ত্ৰ তনয়ন্তংপাদানুধ্যাতঃ শ্রীমহাগোদ্রবকুলগলামভবায়ম-
 10. হাদেব্যাং শ্রীত্রিভুবনমহাদেব্যানবাপ্তজন্মা সজ্জনসৰোজাবকাশ
 বাসবপতিঃ সত্যধনো নিখিলাগমা
 11. স্তম্ভাব প্রজাসম্ভাবঃ প্রচুবভুজবলভয়দিবজবৈদিল গতিলালিতচবণ-
 কমলঃ সৰ
 12. লঙ্কালপ্রস্তুতদ্রাণদানজনিত নিখিলজন প্রমোদবিবকশিতকমলোত্ত
 ত ব্রকরঃ করভীং গত দু
 13. স্বদ মহীপালোপ্যপনীতবলিবিলাসপ্রোংফুলকল্পপাদপইব কলিকাল-
 পমুত্তবিষয়ো হৃষ্টোদ

14. ধিবিব হিমকৰগুৰুপ্ৰতাপ: পৰমতট্টাবক মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ পৰমেশ্বৰ
ত্ৰিগুণাকৰদেব কুশলী ॥ উ
15. ত্বৰতোষল্যাস্বৰ্ত্তমান ভবিষ্যন্নহাসামন্ত মহাৰাজ ৰাজপুত্ৰাস্তবজ
কুমাৰামাত্যপাঠক বিষয়পতি
16. তদাযুক্তক দণ্ডপাশিক স্থানান্তৰিকাছাপি ৰাজপ্ৰসাদিনশ্চাটভটবল্লভ-
জাতীয়ান্ কাঙ্কবিৰা বিষয়েপি
17. মহামহত্তৰ বৃহত্তোগী পুস্তপালকুতকলসাত্ত্বিকবৰ্ণান্ বৰ্ণাহং মানয়তি
বোধয়তি সমাজ্যপয়তি বিদিত

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18. মন্ত ভবতামেতদ্বিয়য়সম্বন্ধ শেডিডলো গ্রামঃ সোপৰিকৰসোদেগঃ সতন্তব্যায়
গোকুল শৌণ্ডিকাদি প্ৰকৃতি-
 19. ক সখেটবাট্ট নদীতীৰস্থানাদি গুল্লকঃ সৰ্ব্বপীড়াবৰ্জিতো লেখনী-
প্ৰবেশতয়া ভূমিছিদ্রাপিধানত্ৰায়েন চ-
 20. দ্ৰাক্ষিক্তিসমকালমাত্যপিত্ৰোৰাত্মনঃ সৰ্বসত্বানাঞ্চ পুণ্যাভিবৃদ্ধয়ে
পুলিন্দৰাজবিজ্ঞপ্ত্য যকগুলো পাটিকা-
 21. য়াং সংকাৰিত পুলিন্দেখৰায়তনে প্ৰতিষ্ঠাপিতস্ত ভগবতো বৈত্ৰনাথ
ভট্টাবকস্ত গ্ৰামাদিনাস্তত্সুপত্ৰগকপুষ্প
 22. দীপধূপনৈবেদ্য বলিচকপুজাদি প্ৰবৰ্ত্তনায় পাদমূলস্য গ্ৰাসাচ্ছাদন
পৰিকল্পনায় খণ্ডস্মৃতিতাগ্ৰভিসংস্কাৰ
 23. বাবমপৰাৰ্দ্ধেন শৈবাচাৰ পততা বীনাং সত্ৰ কে পীনোত্তৰী মঙ্গত্ৰাণ
ভৈষজ্যায়ং দানপত্ৰৈপ্ৰতাহং তত্তুলোদকে ষড়্ভূতি
 24. হিৰণ্যপণচতুষ্ঠয়েন বৰ্ত্তমানক্ষাত্ৰাভিঃ তাত্ৰশাসনীকৃত্যাক্ষয়নীবীধৰ্ম্মেণা-
কৰত্বেন প্ৰতিপাদিতস্তদেয়াং উৎসং-
 25. ভূতি ধৰ্ম্মগৌৰবাদ্ভবদ্ভিঃ পৰিপালনীয়া সংবৎ ১৫০ শ্ৰাবণ শুদি ৭
উজ্জ্বলঃ ধৰ্ম্মশাস্ত্ৰে)
- * * *
32. দূতকোত্ৰ মহাক্ষপপটলাধিকৃত বৃদ্ধভোগী । লেখকো মহাক্ষপাটলিক
ভোগী হিৰবৰঃ । তাপিতম্পেজ
 33. পলৰামদেবেন । উৎকীৰ্ণ নট্ৰকাৰবিজীবেনানন্দজীবপুত্ৰেণেতি ।
গ্ৰামস্য সীমা কথ্যতে

CHAPTER II

THE NĀGARA BRĀHMANAS IN EASTERN INDIA

Nidhanpur
(Sylhet) plates
of Bhaskara-
vārma.

The Bhauma Copperplate-grants of which a description has been given in the previous chapter gives a clue to the existence of a vast community of Brāhmins. A classified list, prepared by my friend Pandit Padmanath Vidyavinoda, of the names and surnames, their gotras and the different branches of the Vedas to which those Brahmins belonged as shown in the Nidhanpur charters are given below:—

Serial No.	Veda.	Gotra.	Name.
1	Vajasaneyin (i.e. Yajurvedin)	Psachetara	Sadharana-svamin (<i>pattakapati</i> , i.e. holder of the copper-plate).
1, 4, 5	Do	Do	Sri-vasu with his three brothers
6, 7	Do	Do	Soma-vasu with his master
8	Chhandoga (i.e. Samavedin).	Katyayana	Manorathasvamin (<i>pattakapati</i>)
9	Do	Do	Vishnu-ghosha-svamin
10	Do	Do	Veda-ghosha-svamin
11	Bahvrichya i. Rigvedin).	Yaska	Dama-devasvamin
12	Do	Do	Ghosha-deva-svamin
13	Do	Do	Nanda-devasvamin
14	Chhandoga	Bharadvaja	Arka-datta-svamin
15	Do	Do	Tushti-datta-svami
16	Vajasaneyin	Kasyapa	Rishi-dama-svamin
17	Do	Do	Subha-dama-svamin
18	Do	Kautsa	Sanaishchara-bhuti
19	Bahvrichya	Gauratreya	Sankarshana-svamin
20	Do	Do	Nara-svamin

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Veda.</i>	<i>Gotra.</i>	<i>Name.</i>
21	Bahvrichya	Gauratreya	Narayana-svamin
22	Do	Do	Vishnu-svamin
23	Do	Do	Sudarshana-svamin
24	Do	Do	Gopendra-svamin
25	Do	Do	Arka-svamin
26	Do	Do	Bhanu-svamin
27	Do	Do	Bhuyaskara-svamin
28	Vajasaneyin	Krishnatreya	Yaso-bhuti-svamin
29	Chhandoga	Bharadvaja	Varuna-svamin
30	Vajasaneyin	Kaundinya	Madhu-sena-svamin
31	Chandoga	Gautama	Dhruva-soma-svamin
32	Do	Do	Vishnu-soma svamin
33	Vajasaneyin	Bhara vaja	Vishnu-palita-svamin
34	Do	Do	Suchi-palita-svamin
35, 36	Do	Do	Mitrapalita and Artiapanta
37	Do	Do	Vrajapatipalita-svamin
38	Vajasaneyin	Gautama	Madhu-svamin
39	Do	Do	Chakra-deva-svamin
40	Charakya (i.e. Yajurvedin),	Vatsa	Kushmanda-patra-svamin
41	Do	Do	Isvara-datta-svamin
42, 43	Vajasaneyin	Maudgalya	Sudarsana and Dinakara- svamin
44	Do	Saubhaka(? Saunaka)	Yajna-kunda-svamin
45	Do	Do	Yaso-kunda-svamin
46	Do	Do	Shraddha-kunda-svamin
47	Do	Do	Narayana-kunda-svamin
48	Do	Do	Isvara-kunda-svamin
49	Do	Do	Sakti-kunda-svamin
50	Do	Do	Tosha-kunda-svamin
51	Charaka	Parasarya	Sadhu-svamin
52	Chhandoga	Asvalayana	Ganga-svamin
53	Bahvrichya	Varaha	Nara-svamin
54	Bahvrichya	Varaha	Pravara-nagasvamin
55	Do	Do	Apanaga-svamin
56, 57	Do	Do	Tosha-naga and Hampi-naga
58	Vajasaneyin	Kasyapa	Mana-ghoshasvamin
59	Chhandoga	Vaishna-vridhhi	Sarppini-svamin
60	Do	Do	Janardana-svamin
61	Bahvrichya	Kausika	Arka-svamin
62	Do	Do	Shraddha-dasa-svamin
63	Vajasaneyin	Gautama	Sanatana-svamin

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Veda.</i>	<i>Gotra.</i>	<i>Name.</i>
64	Vajasaneyya	Gautama	Harshaprabha svamin
65	Do	Kautilya	Khanda-somasvamin
6. 67, 688	Do	Do	Sreyaskara, Gati, Gauri Soma (svamins)
69	Do	Do	Vakula-somasvamin
71, 72	Do	Do	Dhriti-soma, Simha-soma
73	Do	Krishnatreya	Bhayasah-svamin
73	Do	Do	Yajna-svamin
74	Do	Do	Daiva-svamin
75	Do	Do	Darddi-svamin
76	Do	Do	Pradyumna-svamin
77	Do	Do	Vridhdh-svamin
78-82	Vajasaneyya	Krishnatreya	Divakara, Hari, Abdhuta, Teashtri, Tasha-naga (svamins)
83	Do	Kavestara	Medha-svamin
84	Do	Mandavya	Dhriti-svamin
85	Do	Kasyapa	Kesava-svamin
86	Do	Bharadvaja	Gauri-svamin
87	Do	Do	Sucharita-svamin
88	Do	Do	Bappa-svamin
89	Bahvrichya	Kaundinya	Karkadatta-svamin
90	Do	Bharadvaja	Udaya-nasvamin
91	Do	Vasistha	Meru-dattasvamin
92-93	Vajasaneyya	Agnivesya	Narendra-Renubhutiscamins
94	Do	Do	Medha-bhutiscamin
95	Charakya	Sunkrityaana	Chandra-paksha-svamin
96	Bahvrichya	Yasaka	Kali-svamin
97	Do	Do	... svamin
98	Do	Do	Bhatti-Mahesvara svamin
99	Do	Parasarya	Gopala-nandi-svamin
100	Do	Bhargava	Visva-bhuti-svamin
101-102	Do	Do	Surakshita, Sucharita-svamins
103	Tattiriya	Bharadvaja	Siva-ganasvamin
104-107	Bahvrichya	Katyayana	Vasu Sri-svamin with three brothers
108	Vajasaneyya	Kausika	Vira-bhuti-svamin
109	Do	Do	Vishnu-bhuti-svamin
110	Do	Do	Pramoda-bhuti-svamin
111	Do	Bharadvaja	Vishnu-datta-svamin
112	Do	Kaundinau	Brihaspati-svamin
113	Bahvrichya	Yaska	Harsha-deva-svamin
114	Vajasaneyya	Jatukarna	Medha-svamin

Serial No.	Veda.	Gotra.	Name.
115	<i>Vajusaneyin</i>	<i>Jatukaras</i>	<i>Krishna-svamin</i>
116-117	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Madhava-Hari-svamin</i>
118	<i>Chhandoga</i>	<i>Bharadvaja</i>	<i>Janardana-svamin</i>
119	<i>Vajasaneyi</i>	<i>Maudgalia</i>	<i>Vishnu-soma-svamin</i>
120	<i>Charakya</i>	<i>Gargya</i>	<i>Dhana-sena-svamin</i>
121-122	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Pramoda-sena, Ghoshasena</i>
123	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Soma-sena-svamin</i>
124	<i>Bahericha</i>	<i>Gautama</i>	<i>Bhaskara-mitra-svamin</i>
125	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Madhu-mitra-svamin</i>
126-127	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Sadharana-mitra, Sadhu-mitra</i>
128	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Dhriti-mitra-svamin</i>
129	<i>Do</i>	<i>Bharadvaja</i>	<i>Sukra-bhava-svamin</i>
130-132	<i>Do</i>	<i>Pautimashya</i>	<i>Sudarsana, Dhanevara svamin</i>
132	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Sandilya</i>	<i>Ravi-svamin</i>
133	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Madhu-svamin</i>
134	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Mahidhara-svamin</i>
135	<i>Bahnishya</i>	<i>Purnva</i>	<i>Bhatti-Mahesvarasvamin</i>
136	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Bhatti-Matri-svamin</i>
137	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Rudra-bhuti-svamin</i>
138	<i>Chhandoga</i>	<i>Kausika</i>	<i>Adri-cilepanasvamin</i>
139	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Savarnika</i>	<i>Gomi-nagasvamin</i>
140	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Salankayana</i>	<i>Sudrya-svamin</i>
141	<i>Do</i>	<i>Bharadvaja</i>	<i>Bhava-deva-svamin</i>
142	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Sarra-deva-svamin</i>
143	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Gomi-deva-svamin</i>
144	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Suvitra-deva-svamin</i>
145	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Arka-deva-svamin</i>
146	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Sadharana-svamin</i>
147	<i>Do</i>	<i>Gargya</i>	<i>Dama-ratasvamin</i>
148	<i>Do</i>	<i>Bharadvaja</i>	<i>Vasu-datta-svamin</i>
149	<i>Do</i>	<i>Alambayana</i>	<i>Yagesvara-svamin</i>
150	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Visvesvara-svamin</i>
151	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Divyesvara-svamin</i>
152	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Ganesvara-svamin</i>
153	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Buddhesvara-svamin</i>
154-156	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Jit-svara and Angasvara-svamins</i>
156	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Dhantesvara-svamin</i>
157	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Alambayana</i>	<i>Meghesvara-svamin</i>
158	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Jahnavisvara-svamin</i>
159	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Nandesvara-svamin</i>
160	<i>Do</i>	<i>Angirasa</i>	<i>Duma-bhuti-svamin</i>
161-162	<i>Baherichya</i>	<i>Kasyapa</i>	<i>Prakasvara-svamin with brother</i>

Serial No.	Veda.	Gotra.	Name.
163	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Yaska</i>	<i>Gayatri-pala-svamin</i>
164	<i>Bahvrichya</i>	<i>Parasarya</i>	<i>Santa-sarma-svamin</i>
165	<i>Do.</i>	<i>Kausika</i>	<i>Padma-dasa-svamin</i>
166-167	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Govardhana, Yajnapala and Pansa Sudarsana-svamins</i>
168	<i>Chhandoga</i>	<i>Pankulya</i>	<i>Hopala-svamin</i>
169	<i>Taittiriya</i> (<i>Yajurvedin</i>)	<i>Kasyapa</i>	<i>Ugra-datta-svamin</i>
170	<i>Bahvrichya</i>	<i>Varhaspatya</i>	<i>Bhatti-nunda-svamin</i>
171	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Sadhu-svamin</i>
172	<i>Do</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Devakula-svamin</i>
173	<i>"</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Janardana-svamin</i>
174-176	<i>"</i>	<i>Do</i>	<i>Sunayana, Narayana und Vriddhi</i>
177	<i>"</i>	<i>Gautama</i>	<i>Isvara-bhatti-svamin</i>
178	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Bhrigu-svamin</i>
179	<i>"</i>	<i>Bharadwaja</i>	<i>Rudra-ghosha-svamin</i>
180	<i>Charaka</i>	<i>Katyayana</i>	<i>Kausi-soma-svamin</i>
181	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Gautama</i>	<i>Prabhakara-kirti-svamin</i>
182	<i>"</i>	<i>Sandilya</i>	<i>Ananta-svamin</i>
183	<i>Bahvrichya</i>	<i>Saunaka</i>	<i>Atibhatti-svamin</i>
184	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Teja-bhatti-svamin</i>
185-186	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Mantra-ghosha, Teja-bhatti and Nandi-bhuti-svamins</i>
187	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Dama-bhatti-svamin</i>
188	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Medha-bhatti-svamin</i>
189	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Sumatibhatti-svamin</i>
190	<i>"</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>Suyoga-bhatti-svamin</i>
191	<i>Bahvrichya</i>	<i>Vatsya</i>	<i>Sarvata-damasvamin</i>
192	<i>Chhandoga</i>	<i>Gautama</i>	<i>Tosha-svamin</i>
193	<i>Bahvrichya</i>	<i>Varaha</i>	<i>Bhattihara-svamin</i>
194	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Bharedwaja</i>	<i>Nagadatta-svamin</i>
195-196	<i>"</i>	<i>Alambayana</i>	<i>Durvesvara-svamin with brother</i>
197	<i>"</i>	<i>Bharadwaja</i>	<i>Rupadhya-svamin</i>
198-199	<i>Bahvrichya</i>	<i>Kausika</i>	<i>Chandradasa and Vimardanadasa-svamin</i>
200	<i>Vajasaneyin</i>	<i>Kasyapa</i>	<i>Supratishthita-svamin</i>
201	<i>"</i>	<i>Gautama</i>	<i>Nandana-svamin</i>
202	<i>"</i>	<i>Sakatayana</i>	<i>Tosha-svamin</i>
203-204	<i>"</i>	<i>Gautama and Kasyapa</i>	<i>Sarasa and Vakula-svamins</i>
205	<i>"</i>	<i>Bharadwaja</i>	<i>Vidusha-svamin</i>

From the third lost plate of the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman we find altogether 63½ shares belonging to 86 persons of 24 gotras, as the total of these shares amounts to 166¾ evidently there must be at least one more plate to complete the set, otherwise the fraction will be inexplicable. Hence the other lost plate or plates must contain the names of more than hundred donees and many other gotras. From the portion of the grant already published we got the following surnames, gotras and Veda-sâkhā :—

<i>Surname (Sarman)</i>	<i>Gotra</i>	<i>Veda</i>	
Āḍhya	Varhaspatya	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
Kirti	Gautama	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
Kuṇḍa	Saunaka	Do	Do
Kula	Varhaspatya	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
Gaṇa	Bharadvāja	Taittiriya	(Yajus)
Ghosha	1 Kāśyapa	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
"	2 Kātyāyana	Chhandoga	(Sma)
"	3 Bharadvāja	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
Trata or Rata	Gargya	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
Datta	1 Bharadvāja	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
"	2 Vātsa	Charakya	
"	3 Bharadvāja	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
"	4 Kāśyapa	Taittiriya	"
"	5 Vāśishtha	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
"	6 Kauṇḍinya	"	"
Dama	1 Kāśyapa	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
"	2 Vātsya	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
Dāsa	Kauśika	Bahvrichya	"
Deva	1 Yaska	"	"
"	2 Gautama	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
"	3 Bharadvāja	"	"
Dhara	Kāśyapa	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
Iṣvara	Ālambhāyana	Vajasaneya	(Yajus)
Nanda	Varhaspatya	Bahvrichya	(Rik)
Nandi	Paraśarya	"	"

<i>Sarman</i>	<i>Gotra</i>	<i>Veda</i>
Naga	Varaha	Bahvrichya (Rik)
"	2 Krishnatreya	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
"	3 Savarṇi	" "
Nagadatta	Bharadvaja	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
Paksha	Sankrityayana	Charakya (Yajus)
Patra	Vatsa	"
Paṇa	Kausika	Bahvrichya (Rik)
Paṣa	1 Yaska	" "
"	2 Pankalya	Chhandoga (Sāma)
"	3 Kausika	Bahvrichya (Rik)
Palita	Bhāradvaja	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
Prabha	Gautama	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
Bhaṭṭa	Gautama	Bahvrichya (Rik)
Bhaṭṭi	1 Saunaka	Bahvrichya (Rik)
"	2 Vaska	" "
"	3 Paurṇa	" "
Bhnti	1 Kautsa	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
"	2 Āṅgīrasa	" "
"	3 Krishnatreya	" "
"	4 Agniveśya	" "
"	5 Bhārgava	Bahvrichya (Rik)
Mitra	Gautama	" "
Rata	Gargya	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
Vara	Kasyapa	Bahvrichya (Rik)
Varddhana	Kausika	Charakya
Vasu	1 Prachetasa	" "
"	2 Katyayana	Bahvrichya (Rik)
Vridhdha	Varhaspatya	" "
Sarma	Parasarya	" "
Sena	1 Kauṇḍinya	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
"	2 Gārgya	Charakya
Soma	1 Gautama	Chhandoga (Sāma)
"	2 Katyayana	Charakya
"	3 Kauṭilya	Vajasaneya (Yajus)
"	4 Maudgalya	"

From the Tippera plate of Lokanātha* we got the following names of Brāhmanas :—

Tippera plate
of
Lokanātha.

Bhaṭṭa Anantadeva svāmin, Bhaṭṭa Dharma Dāsa, Bhaṭṭa Nāgadatta, Bhatta Keśava, Bhaṭṭa Gada Nandi, Bhaṭṭa Medhasoma, Bhatta Udaya Chandra, Bhatta Manojña Deva, Bhatta Jayasoma svāmin, Bhatta Pūrṇa Dāma, Bhatta Videśa, Bhatta Jajña Deva, Bhatta Āmradeva, Bhaṭṭa Ladra svāmin, Bhatta Pūrṇa-Ghoshā, Bhatta Ugra Soma, Bhatta Manoratha, Bhatta Ravi, Bhatta Rāsañschāla, Bhikshata, Bhatta Hari Sarma, Bhatta Jana Soma, Bhatta Vinda, Bhatta Bhānu, Kaṇṇa, Viśva, Khaḍga, Vadara, Vichakshaṇa Pati, Govardhana, Prabhavarisha, Vishṇu Andagari, Pitrikesvir, Antachara, Harsha Bhaṭṭi, Subrā(?)ta, Bhaṇḍa, Harsha, Mādra Khaliga, Vriddhi Droha, Vidagdha, Kaḍḍa, Mahēśa, Teja-Soma, Janardana Anda, Nriga, Sadeśa, Sankara, Rudra, Vikasita, Divākara, Harisha, Vijaya, Vāmana, Gopisarma Ānanda, Nirdhāra, Sutoshā, Lachhuka, Sukshma Bhaṭṭi, Rudra, Dāmodara Ānda, Nri Soma, Vidagdha-Janārdana, Skanda Pati, Isāna, Pati Krishṇa, Bhava Rudra, Surata, Jana Soma, Vidagdha, Vappa Dhriti, Avalipta, Konta(?), Buddha Datta Sarma, Vappa Sarma, Nava Chakra, Jaya Siva, Vishṇu Sujata, Sargama, Vandhu, Vedaju, Lavvu Dhriti Jaya Mitra, Deva Sra(?)dhu, Vidēsa, Jiva, Maḥṣa saka, Vihi, Suyata, Ugra, Pratoshaka, Artha Adbhuta, Santosha, Daita Gaṇa, Rupa, Santu, Vishnu-Mitra, Nistarana, Govinda Kōṭṭa, Kaṇḍabhu-gdha, Vappa Susheṇa Lavvu, Lingasoka, Hambō, Subha Guṇa, Tosha Vappa Soka Vappa, Atithi, Bhānu, Kshīra Gaṇḍa, Nidhi Bhadra, Janardana,

Bhaskara Vappa Dēva Datta, Dhanankara Bhatta, Brahma Datta, Bhatta Apa Datta, Svami Datta, Vappa Chandra, Pana Krishna, Harisha, Vikasita, Manoratha, Vṛikaśa, Nayana, Chitra, Vipāśchita, Yajña, Sukṛita Tosha, Chandra Vappa, Ahi, Markaṭa Chandra, Prana Nanda, Sadharaṇa Kshema Bhati, Vappa Dēva, Prasanta, Dudhu-svami, Prakṣa Gauna, Priya Dama, Ānanda, Indra Svamin Narayana, Harideva, Chandraseka Bhaṭṭa Suta Bhatta Piñchhadēva, Nanda Gopa, Vanamali, Trilochana, Khanya, Pujishu, Ahi Svamin, Sampidha Saṅgha, Santosha, Jayasarma Daidava Ivaṭi(?), Naravijaya, Sambhuvijaya, Gupta, Jaya Suri, Priya, Madhu Lakshana, Dhana-Nanda, Paraśla, Uśa Indra, Hari Dhriti, Ichchha Deva, Gana Maharaja, Dadhi Bhaṭṭa, Bhogika Bhava Dasa, Pachaka Vasu, Vachaka Sudhama,

The Neulpur Grant of Subhakara Deva discloses the following names :—

Bahvricha or Rigvedin :—

Neulpur
(Orissa) grant
: of
Subhakara
Deva.

Bhaṭṭa Kesava Deva, Bhaṭṭa Purushottama, Vānmanasvami, Samparvasvami, Goshṭha Devasvami, Bhaṭṭa Ravikara Deva, Bhaṭṭa Chaturthada, Saya Karadeva, Bhaṭṭa Chaturthada, Uddyota Karadeva, Bhaṭṭa Probha-kara, Bhaṭṭa Bhaskara, Bhaṭṭa Harideva, Bhaṭṭa Vasudeva, Bhaṭṭa Satadamana, Purushot-tama-svami, Pradyotasvami, Mahavalasvami, Narasiñhasvami Trivikrama Chandrasvami, Paśupalasvami Padmanābha svami, Govardhana svami, Sridharasvami, Madhu Dikshita, Risha-bha-svami, Agnihotri Chandra Deva, Agnihotri Sridhara, Bhaṭṭa Paritosha, Bhavadeva svami, Vasudeva-svami, Utpalasvami, Bhaṭṭa Jivatman, Bhaṭṭa Varadeva, Bhaṭṭa Kṣmadeva, Kesavasvami, Mahadeva-svami, Goshṭha Bhuti svami, Prabha-

kara svami, Govardhana svami, Sasi Chandra svami, Bhaṭṭa Sridhara Bhuti, Bhaṭṭa Loka-Bhūti. *Ohhātra*—Vishnusvami, Gomidevasvami, Saṅgasvami, Sambhu svami, Trivikrama svami, Bhaṭṭa Narakadeva, Darva svami, Madhava svami, Vamana svami and Uṛṇa svami.

Vājāsaneyi or Yajurvedin :—

Sri Bhatta, Sarva Naga, Bhaṭṭa Vishnu Vardhana, Santi Vardhana, Sthira Vardhana, Vrishabha-Vardhana, Subha Lakshana, Hari Ghosha, Bhaṭṭa Sakra-Datta, Pramodasvami, Purandara svami, Damodara svami, Nara Datta svami, Harsha Datta svami, Vatsa Datta svami, Bhatta Divakara, Bhaṭṭa Dinakara, Bhaṭṭa Deva Kunḍa, Hari Kunḍa, Deukka svami, Gomichandra svami, Vasu Bhadra svami, Hrishikeṣa, Janardana svami, Veda Sarma svami, Sridhara svami, Purushottama svami, Bhaṭṭa Yajña svamin, Daḍisvami, Bhaṭṭa Udaya Kunḍa, Vaṭu Damodara, Subhakara svami, Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, Eḡusvami, Pṛithivī svami. Kshira svami, Dhruva Devasvami, *Chhatra*—Narayana svami, Kumara Bhūti svami, Bhaṭṭa Govinda, Goshṭha Devasvami, Darvā Kuṭa svami, Rishi-Naga svami, Bhatta Manoratha, Gaḡa svami, Sthavara svami, Bhatta Sudarsana, Bhatta Gaḡa Deva, Sthira-Devasvami and Brahmasvami.

Chhāndasa or Sāmavedin :—

Bhatta Āpara-Deva, Rudra-Deva svami, Mahadeva svami, Agnihotri Madhava svami, Daddasvami, Bhaṇḡa svami, Sitikanṭha svami, Vanamāla svami, Kesava svami, Sanka svami, Kṣhiroda svami, Rishi svami, Mandara Deva svami, Madhusūdana svami, Hara Deva svami, Sridhara svami, Bhatta Mahadeva, Bhatta Tribhuvana, Bhatta Janārdana, Bhatta Bhavadeva,

Nannakonāsvami, Bhatta Kanha Deva, Bhatta Govinda Deva, Sobhana Deva, Vova svami, 2nd Vovasvami, Vellu svami, Chachchha svami Utpala Deva svami, Karma svami, Vṛishabha svami, Dhruva-Deva svami, Guha Deva svami, Eṇusvami, Madhava Devasvami, Govinda Devasvami, Kanhasvami, Balabhadra svami, Rishabha svami, Rishikeṣa svami, Dhulāvrita svami, Eṇu Dhara svami, Bhaskara svami, Gorakshita svami, Paduma svami, Damu svami, Rishi svami, Darva svami, Sankara-Bhūti svami *Chhātra*—Vasudeva svami, Agnihotri Bhayra svami.

Atharvavedin :—

Bhatta-Purohita Bhavadeva, Bhatta Daddo, Arggunḍa svami, Bhatta Dadda svami, Damodara svami, Narayana svami, Vallabha svami, Balabhadra svami, Padmanabha svami, Buddhu svami, Dhairya svami, Indra Sarmā svami, Hansa Deva svami, Bhavasvami, Pushya svami, Bhūmi-Deva svami, Mera Deva svami, Bhava-Deva svami, another Balabhadra svami, another Bhava-Deva svami, Ghaṇi svami, Govinda svami, Soma svami, Vappaṭa svami, Gaya Dharasvami, Hala Dhara svami, Mala Dhara svami, Kesava-vimba svami, Mahidhara svami, Vova svami, Bhava svami, Sitala svami, Chandra svami, Damodara svami, Meru svami, Bhaṇa svami, Sagara svami, Aḍhaka Dadda svami, Dhruva svami, Kakka svami, Madhusudana svami, Avadita Dadda svami, another Sitala svami, Bhattaputra Madhusudana, Bhattaputra Sivadeva, Haṇḍikapati Pushya svami, Apa svami, Prithivī svami, Jivananda svami, Varuna svami and Rishi svami

Other
Bhauma
plates

In the copper plategrant of king Valavarma of Kamarupa there is reference to a section of Brahmins belonging to the Kanva-sakha with the surname Dhara and of Kapila gotra. Next, mention may be made of the two copper plategrants of king Ratnapala of Kamarupa one of which shows the existence of a group of Kanvasakha Brahmin called Abhitagni Datta of the Parasara gotra and the other gives a different group, having the surname and with the gotra, Bharadvaja, also as a Kanva sakha.† The Gauhati copperplate grant of Indrapala gives us the name of another group of Yajurvedi Brahmins, whose surname Pāla.‡ In the Guakuchi copper-plate of the said Indra pala mention is made of another group of Yajurvedi kanva Brahmans of the Kasyapa gotra with the surname Deva who being the donee, speaks of one Vasu also as owner of an adjoining plot.†† The copper plate grant of Danḍi Mahadevi issued from Ganjam also mentions the Ghosha family belonging to Visvamitra gotra. §

The following is a list in alphabetical order, of the hereditary surnames as found in the charters of the ancient Bhauma kings of Kamrup, Bengal and Orissa :—

Añchala, Adbhuta, Anda, Arjuna, Āḥaka, Āḥya, Indra, Isvara, Kara, Kīrti, Kuṇḍa, Kula,

* Kamarupa Śāsanavālī, by Pandit Padmanāth Vidyavinoda. p.p. 72, 78-79.

† K. S. Do 89, 112.

‡ " " " 120

†† " " " 138

§ Epigraphia Indica, vol. vi. p. 133.

List of 72
Surnames
found in
ancient
grants

Keśu, Kōṭa, Khaḍga, Khalisa, Gaṇa, Gaṇḍa, Guṇa, Gupta, Gopa, Gauna, Ghosha, Chakra, Chandra, Chara, Tosha, Trata, Datta, Dama, Dāsa, Dugdha, Deva, Dīkshita, Droḥa, Dhara, Dhṛiti, Nanda, Nandi, Naga, Nagadatta, Pana, Pati, Pala, Palita, Bhaṭa, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhūti, Bhadra, Mitra, Rakshita, Ratha, Rāta, Rudra, Lakshana, Varisha, Vardhana, Vasu, Vijaya, Vidagdha, Vilamva, Vishnu, Viddhi, Sarma, Sala, Siva, Subha, Sūri, Soka, Sena, Soma.

Though at a time, large numbers of Brahmins holding such surnames were in existence in Pragyotisha, Gauḍa and Trikalinga, no traces of them have now almost found in Eastern India. Mention is made in the family records of the Vaidika Brahmins of Utkal and in those of Dakshinatya Vaidikas, who came to Bengal from Utkala, of the seven surnames of Kara, Dhara, Datta, Nandi, Pati, Ratha, and Dasa, all the other surnames are no longer in vogue. And the Dakshinatya Vaidika Brahmanas in South Bengal are averse to use those surnames, as recorded in their *Kulapanji* or family records, except on ceremonial occasions. The various surnames, which I have discussed already are still in vogue in the Kayasthas Bengal, but they are not in use among the Brahmanas now. Either the whole group of these Brahmanas who once lived in thousands throughout the length and breadth of Eastern India is now extinct or mysteriously blended into other community. : My belief is that it is not altogether extinct. "Nagara Puspanjali"—a book in Gujarati published from Lucknow in 1907 A. D. speaks of Nagara Brahmanas of different Vedas and 'gotras and sarmans (surnames) such as Datta, Sarma, Nagadatta, Deva, Bhava, Nanda, Ghosha, Dasa, Trata, Bhūti

or Bhumi, Gupta, and Mitra. In an issue of the Indian Antiquary, of January 1911, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has quoted a Sanskrit sloka which says that the fourteen sarmans Datta, Gupta, Nanda, Ghosha, Sarma, Dasa, Varma, Nagadatta, Trata, Bhuti, Mitra, Deva and Bhava have been in vogue among the Nagara Brahmanas for more than seven hundred years ago.

The Nagarakhaṇḍa also speaks of the origin of the Nagara Brahmanas in the following lines—

Chamatkara, the king of Anartta, was once afflicted with leprosy. Being unable to get rid of the disease he despaired of his life. One day he came to the hermitage of Visvamitra and described to him his miserable condition. The ascetics of the hermitage were so moved to pity by the lamentations of the king that they advised him to bathe in the Sankha-tirtha. Bathing there he was cured of his leprosy. Then he built close to that Sankha-tirtha a city named Chamatkara-pura, which extended for two miles. Picturesque structures were there raised by his order; and Kulina Brahmanas well-versed in the Vedas, and other religious Brahmanas were invited from distant quarters to live in the town. A few years after, there was born amongst them the learned Chitra-Sarman. Practising penance, he succeeded in propitiating Mahadeva, who to fulfil his desire appeared before him in the form of Hatakesvara. People from different parts began to visit the place to have a sight of the Hatakesvara-linga. The Brahmanas of Chamatkarapura began to consider that Chitra-Sarman was in no way superior to them, but as he earned the honour and respect of the public by instituting

a permanent object of glory, why should they not follow him ? Thus reflecting they all began to practice austere penances. Mahadeva became propitiated and appeared before the Chamatkara-pura Brahmanas, who were then divided into 68 Gotras. Mahadeva said, 'There are in all 68 Saiva-kshetras (places of Siva). Dividing myself in 68 parts, I always reside in these places. Now to satisfy your object I will appear here in 68 forms.' Accordingly there were erected 68 shrines and each gotra devoted itself to the worship of a separate form of Siva'. (Nagara-Khaṇḍa, Chs. 106 and 107.)

'Once upon a time the king of Ānartta became aware that a heavy calamity was brooding over his peaceful dominions owing to the wrath of the presiding planet of his son then about to be born. He called for all the great astrologers of the time who unanimously advised him to observe expiatory rites through the medium of competent Brahmanas. The king of Ānartta had already established the Brahmanas of the 68 gotras in Chamatkara-pura, where he also had beautiful edifices built for them. Now, instructed by the astrologers, he came in person to Chamatkara-pura and solicited the Brahmanas to perform the necessary religious rites for the welfare of his future son. Sixteen Brahmanas were then employed to perform propitiatory and sacrificial observances.

'While these religious rites were being performed, there went on, in the capital of Ānartta, great and solemn festivities in order to celebrate the birth of the prince. But in the midst of these entertainments dark calamities began to

make their appearance. Consequent upon the evil influence of the star presiding over the prince's fortune, the king's horses, elephants, chariots and even his dominions began to become narrower and narrower. At this the Bráhmaṇas of Chamatkára-pura became highly exasperated. They observed, 'we, sixteen Brahmanas are without the slightest departure from rules, performing the prescribed sacrifices ; and yet no good comes of it. Let us therefore pronounce curses upon the god of fire'. At this juncture, Agnideva (the fire-god) appeared before them and exclaimed, 'Oh Brahmanas, do not curse upon me under the influence of unjust wrath. Each of your offerings is being wasted through the misdemeanour of Trijata, one among you who are performing the sacrifices and other religious rites. For him, the sun and other heavenly bodies do not accept your offerings : and this is why pestilence and mortality are day by day increasing in the kingdom. Renew your sacrifices, banishing this vile Brahmana from your company, then fortune and health shall smile upon the king, and perdition shall await his enemies.' Hearing the words of Agni, the Brahmanas were very much taken aback and said that it was impossible for them to believe that Trijata was polluting their Homa preparations. Agni replied, 'Purify yourselves by bathing in the stream of my perspiration in the sacrificial-pit (Homa-kunḍa). Rest assured, that your preparations have been corrupted by that man, on whose body appear pustules when he emerges out of the water. In obedience to the dictates of Agni, they, one after another, bathed in the sacrificial pit ;

but pustules were seen on the person of Trijata only. Overwhelmed with shame, Trijata was then unable to uplift his down-cast head; agony and repentance overcame him and he determined to retire to the jungle. Now, in fact, this Trijata was a great scholar, well-versed in the Vedas; and for the disgrace befallen upon him, his mother was only to blame. Becoming alive to his own wretched condition he applied himself to practise austere penances in a secluded forest.

‘Highly delighted with the rigour and austerity of Trijata’s penance, Mahadeva appeared before him. Trijata fell prostrate at his feet and thus poured out his heart—Oh god of gods, I have by my mother’s fault, very much disgraced the people of Chamatkarapura and the king of Anarta. Be thou so gracious as to contrive some means, by which, I may become pre-eminent amongst all the Brāhmaṇas. Mahadeva answered, “Wait for sometime. Days are not distant, when your desire will be fulfilled.” Saying this the god vanished.

‘Meanwhile a great disaster occurred in Chamatkarapura. On one Naga-Pañchami day, Kratha, son of Deva-rajā of the Maudgalya gotra together with some other Brāhmanas went to bathe in the Nagatirtha and there taking Rudramāla, the son of the serpent-king, for a common water-serpent, killed him with the stroke of a rod. At this many venomous snakes, responding to their king’s order, crept into Chamatkarapura in overwhelming numbers. Owing to the terrible destruction caused by these poisonous snakes, all the men of Chamatkāra-pura young and old, began to fly

away, leaving their houses and articles behind. Brāhmaṇas in hundreds breathed their last, being bitten by snakes; some Brāhmaṇas becoming exceedingly appalled sought refuge in that forest where Trijātas was engaged in penance. Hearing of the story of misfortune, Trijāta encouraged them, saying, 'you have no occasion to fear'. Ere long he again became absorbed in meditation of Mahādeva. The god appeared and said 'I am giving you an encantation (a mantra) the mere utterance of which shall render even the most ferocious of the venomous snakes void of poison. The mantra runs thus :—

Origin
of Nagar
Brahmana.

'O my good Brāhmaṇa, you are to proclaim in the city that the word *gara* signifies poison, but by my favour there is no poison, at present. Any vile snakes that may dare remain there after hearing you utter 'nagaram nagaram' (i. e, there is no poison, no poison) may be killed at your pleasure. This famous place, which contributes to your glory, will from this day be known to the world by the name of Nagara. So also any other Nagara Brāhmaṇa born of a pure family, will be able to restore to life any snake-bitten animal fallen into the clutches of death by besprinkling its face with water, enchanted thrice with the mantra called Nagara.'

'Saying this the god disappeared. Trijāta accompanied by those Brāhmaṇas came to Chamatkārapura. They all conjointly began to cry aloud nagaram nagaram. By the effect of this siddha-mantra, the snakes of Chamatkārapura were rendered poisonless, and struggled to make their escape, while thousands perished. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune. That very Trijāta, who was once overwhelmed by acute

mortification of mind, and shame and disgrace, now overflowed with joy to find himself the object of public praise and honour. By his influence the name of Chamatkrapura was changed to Nagara, and its Brāhmaṇas came to be known as Nāgara' (Nāgarakhaṇḍa, Ch. 106-108).

It has been already remarked in harmony with the statement of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa that Hatakeśvara was named Nagara, subsequent to Trijata's making the land Nāgaless. The Brāhmaṇas who were brought by him became known under the name of Nāgara from their inhabiting that city.

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujrat maintain that Ānandapura (the present Baḍanagara) was their original dwelling place. This place is in the district of Kadi in Gujrat and forms a part of the state of the Gaikwar of Baroda. Some antiquarians have alluded to Nagara-Ānandapura as the name of this place. It seems to me that perhaps the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura used the name of Baḍanagara for their native town, in order to distinguish it from the comparatively new city Nagara, which the excommunicated Vāhya Nagaras founded and named in imitation of their mother-land.

The famous shrine of Hatakeśvara is still existing in Baḍanagara; and the Brāhmaṇas of this locality still recite holy texts (śānti-pāṭha) for the welfare of their king the Gaikwar. Even now, thousands of pilgrims resort to Hatakeśvara from all parts of Western India. All the temples and tīrthas as described in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa can even now be identified in Baḍanagara and its environments of 10 miles. The local

river Sarasa is held, by the natives, in the same veneration as the Ganges.

The Nāgara Brāhmanas maintain that there was a time when millions of pilgrims annually came to Hatakāśvara-kshetra from different parts of India. The attendants of its Paṇḍas travelled all over India inducing people to visit this sacred place. Indeed many Nāgara Brāhmanas are, even now met with in various parts of the Deccan. These Brāhmaṇas still write all their sacred books in the Nāgari characters. Even far away in Drāviḍa and Karṇāṭa, where all the other natives use their provincial alphabets in writing, these Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas though they have, in the course of centuries, lost their mother-tongue and adopted that of the surrounding people amongst whom they live, still adhere to their own tribal Nāgari character.

With respect to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas at the outskirts of Bijaynagara and Ānagaṇḍi, Mr. Huddleston Stokes states, "They appear originally to have come from the countries north-east of Nāgara and to have under the Ānagaṇḍi and Vijaynagar kings. They speak Kānarese only, but their books are in the Nāgari and Bālabodha character."*

Nāgar
Brahmins
and
their Gotras

The Nāgarakhaṇḍa gives the following account of the establishment of the Nāgara Brahmins and of their 68 gotras :—

The worthiest of the Dvijas (Trijata) was a descendant of the sage called Saṅkṛitya. He was Nimi's son and was known by the name of Prabhava Datta. This Trijata having recovered his ancestral lands, built a very fine temple and set up the linga of

* Journal A. 6. B. 1896, part I, p. 119, 122,

Mahadeva calling the image Trijatesvara or Lord of Trijata. Worshipping this deity day and night he was transported to Heaven. The names of the gotras which were revived and those which were established through the efforts of this Trijata are given below. Among these gotras no information is available in respect of Upamanyu, Krauncha, Kaiśorja and Traivaneya. Those 4 gotras being afraid of the Nagas had left their country and departed to some other place. The names of the other gotras and the number of Brahmins belonging to each are stated below ;—Kauśika gotra 26, Kasyapa 87, Lakṣaṇānvaya 21, (They are newcomers), Bharadvāja 3 (They had left but came back again), Kaundineya 14, Raitika 20, Parāsarya 8, Garga 22, Harita 23, Aurvabhargava 25, Gautama 26, Alubhāyana 20, Māṇḍavya 23, Bahvrichya 23, Sankritya 10, Āngirasa 5, Ātreya 10, Suklātreya 10, Vatsya 5, Kautsya 9, Sāṇḍilya 5, Bhārgava 5, Maudgalya 20, Baudhāyana 30, Kausala 30, Atharva 55, Manasa 77, Yājusha 30, Chyavana 27, Agastya 33, Jaimini 10, Naivrita 55, Paṇhina 70, Gobhila 5, Kakva 5, Ausana 3, Dāsārha 3, Lokakhyā 60, Ainisa 72, Kāpisthala 77, Sarkarakhyā 77, Datta 77, Sarkava 100, Daryjya 76, Kātyāyana 3, Vaidisa 3, Krishṇātreya 5, Dattātreya 5, Nārāyana, Saunaka, Jāṇala, Gopāla, Jamadagnya, Salihotra, Karṇika, Bhāgurāyana, Mātrika and Trinava, each of the last named ten gotras had 100 members. The Brahmins belonging to the above gotras enjoyed social status in the order in which they have been mentioned. In a former age Brahmā had separated 68 Brahmins from one another giving each a distinct position.

Through the grace of Siva, Trijata won the

gratitude of all Brahmins by recovering his ancestral lands. Through their influence he even became renowned as one endowed with the knowledge of the true meaning of the Vedas and as an adept in the practice of sacrificial rites. The family of this Trijata spread into ten branches. They were highly respected Brahmins and then obtained a leading position among the 68 gotras brought together by Trijata. In this way 1500 Brahmins met in Chamatkrapura. They all carefully considered their income and expenditure and shared equally the things which they acquired in a legitimate manner. At the request of Trijata many high class Brahmins came from distant quarters and added to the glory of the Pura (city). No one would now leave the place even in the greatest distress. In course of time Chamatkrapura was crowded with thousands of their descendants, sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, daughters, children and nephews.

In chapter 107 of the Nāgarakhanda it is stated “অষ্টযষ্টিশ্চ গোত্রাণামস্মাকং গত্র সংস্থিত।।” We (Brahmins) 68 gotras, stay here (Chamatkarpura). Here, Chitrasarma attained to a pre-eminent position by setting up the Hatakesvara linga.

The number of the gotras enumerated above is 62.

In the Nāgarakhanda we get the following statement with regard to the gotras of Ashṭakula :—

“কশ্চপশ্চৈব কৌণ্ডিন্য উদ্ধাশঃ শার্কবো দিশঃ ।

বৈজবাংশৈশ্চ বঠঃ কাপিষ্ঠলো দিকন্তথা ।।

এতৎ কুলাষ্টকং প্রাপ্তমিহৈব সত্ৰ পার্শ্বিণঃ ।”

Here we find eight gotras, viz., Kasyapa,

Kauṇḍinya, Ukshnasa, Sarkava, Dvisa, Vaijavapa, Kapisthala and Dvika. Again in chapter 184. it is stated that there are 4 Chhandoga Nagara, Brahminas viz., Sunahshepa, Sakreya, Bauddha, and Danta. These 4 families live in exile.*

In the 'Nagarotpatti' by Gangasankar Pancholi it is stated that at the time of the marriage of the goddess Parvati 12 Brahmins sprang forth, of these, 12 were wedded to 12 heavenly damsels. They had altogether 72 sons by these wives, each having 6. These 72 sons were the Rishis founding the 72 gotras. The names of the gotras are given below :—

1 Kaśyapa, 2 Kauṇḍinya, 3 Aukshnasa, 4 Sarkava, 5 Vaijavapa, 6 Kapishthala, 7 Ladhika, 8 Upamanyu, 9 Krauncha, 10 Kaiśorya, 11 Traivanyaka, 12 Sunahśepa, 13 Sakreya, 14 Bauddhayana, 15 Danta, 16 Kausika, 17 Darbhasa, 18 Lakshmanasa, 19 Vatsapala, 20 Aitikayana, 21 Audvala, 22 Bharadvaja, 23 Varaha, 24 Saukreya, 25 Alubhayana, 26 Paraśara, 27 Gopala, 28 Gautama, 29 Dattatreya, 30 Kaurangava, 31 Galava,

* In Nagar-puspanjali, the following 8 gotras or Astakula have been specified—Aukshnasā, Kaśyapa, Baijavapa, Alubhayana, Sangayals, Darbha, Sarkava and Lauksha. The surnames, Vedic denominations etc. of these 8 gotras have been mentioned later on,

আসন্ন পুরে বিপ্রাশ্চর্য্যো যে বিবাসিতাঃ ।

শুনঃশেপোহত্র শার্কবো বৌদ্ধো দান্তকতুর্ধকঃ । ১১

তেবাং বধো তু বো বৌদ্ধঃ শান্তো দান্ত ইতি শ্রুতঃ ।

ছান্দোগগোত্রবিধ্যাতো বেদবেদাঙ্গপারগঃ । ১২

নাগরেবু সসুংপন্নঃ পশ্চিমে বরসি স্থিতঃ ।

তস্তাহং প্রথমঃ পুত্রঃ প্রাপ্যেত্যোহপি মুকুৎপ্রিয়ঃ । ১৩

এতন্নিম্নতরে রাজাহানর্ভাধিপতিবিশ্বজাঃ

হতপাতেন নির্দিষ্টো অস্ত কক কিকর্ধাণ । ১৪

32 Gaṅgayana, 33 Sankritya, 34 Sarka-raksha, 35 Pippalada, 36 Sankayana, 37 Gargya, 38 Matrikayana, 39 Paniniya 40 Sandilya 41 Kaṇḍāya, 42 Agniveśa, 43 Lokaksha, 44 Harita, 45 Chandra Bhargava, 46 Angirasa, 47 Kautsa, 48 Maṇḍavya, 49 Mudgala, 50 Jaimini, 51 Paithinasa, 52 Gobhila, 53 Katyaṇana, 54 Vasistha 55 Naidhruva, 56 Nārāyana, 57 Javali, 58 Jama-dagni, 59 Salihotra, 60 Agastya, 61 Uśana, 62 Bhagurayana, 63 Vainateya, 64 Saunaka, 65 Harikara, 66 Chhandogya, 67 Atri, 68 Chya-vana, 69 Jatukarna, 70 Goriyava, 71 Vaisampa-yaṇa, and 72 Brihadatreya.

• 4 among the 72 gotras, viz, Sunaśhepa, Sakreya, Baudhayana and Danta went to Kurukshetra in fear of having accepted gifts from the king of Chamatkarapura. The eight gotras, Kaśyapa, and others went to the Himalayas and there devoted themselves to meditation. The 4 gotras Upamanyu, Kaiśorya, Krauncha and Trivaneyaka went to the North for fear of the Nagas. The remaining 56 gotras lived in Baḍanagar. In course of time they were divided into two classes, those who remained inside and those who were outside. Those who were separated from the main body of the Nagaras on account of the hostilities of their kin were Vahyanagar or 'outsiders'. The abhyantara or inside Nagars were subdivided into Madhyagas and Baḍanagaras. Those who lived in Gartā-tirtha having been brought there by the king of Anarta were called Madh-yaga, those who resided in Anandapura were known as Baḍanagaras. The Baḍanagaras were further subdivided into three classes. Viz, Adhavaśa, Sthanika and Pravasi. The Adhavaśa Nagars who adopted the profession

Division
among the
Nāgaras

The
Madhyagas
and Baḍa
nagaras.

of arms were either householders or soldiers ; others were mendicants and known as Ahmedabadi Brahmanas. The Pravasi Nagaras are distinguished by the names of the places where they originally settled, viz—Sorathi, Patani, Dungarapura, Idariya, Kaśi, Mathura and Gaya. The distinction between householders and mendicants is found even among them. The Sthanikas are those who still reside in Baḍanagar. Among the Vahya-Nagaras the following divisions are observed—Bisalanagara, Saṭhodara, Praṇora, Krisnora and Chitroḡa.

The Ahmedabadi, the Pravasi Sorathi and other VahyaNagar

Pandit Gangasankara has cited three distinct sections in regard to the classification of the Nagar Brahmins;—1st group—1. Abhyantar or Baḍanagar; 2. Vajhya or outside Baḍanagar; 3. Bhaṭ or soldiers. 4. Abhaṭṭa, 5. Chitrakuṣa, 6. Gartatirthavasi.

2nd group—1. Abhyantar, 2. Vajhya, 3. Shasthya or drunkards, 4. Pishtya 5. Chitrakuta, 6. Chiraguptavansi.

Classification of Nagaras

3rd group—Baḍanagara, 2. Bisalnagara, 3. Satodara, 4. Krishnora, 5. Chitroṛa, 6. Prasnora.

From a study of the Nagarakhanda, it would appear that this country had been inhabited by the Brahmanas from very early times. They had to abandon this country on account of the persecutions of the Nagas. In the Nagarakhanda, Ch. 118, it is declared that the Naga king Takshaka would be born in Saurashtra with the name Raivata and that Kshemankari would take her birth in the house of the king of Ānartta. When Kshemankari attained her youth, the king of Ānartta married her to Raivataka. Revati was the

Takshaka Naga dynasty of Saurashtra

* Nagarotpatti (Cuṇarati) by Pandit Gangasankar Pancholi (printed at Agra, Samvat 1970) p. 59, 84.

issue of Raivataka, the king of Saurashtra by Kshemankari.*

Takshaka
identified
as a Saka
Kshatrapa
flourishing
after Sungas

The above testifies the existence in a certain period of the Takshaka Naga dynasty in Saurashtra or Gujarat. Historians, Todd and others have identified Takshaka or Tak-shak as Saka or Scythian dynasty. We also learn from the early rock-inscriptions of this place that after the fall of the Maurjyas and the Sunga dynasty, the Saka Kshatrapas extended their domination here.

Khaharata
Nahapana

These Kshatrapas were known as the "Khagarata" or Khaharata dynasty. Dr Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar says, "The name Khaharata Nahapana is not Indian, but foreign. The title Kshatrapa or Mahakshatrapa also used in the case of that king is not Indian though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign word, very likely the Persian Satrap."†

Chastana

In the first century of the Christian era, Chastana in Malava and Rajputana and the father of Nahapana in Western India were Kshatrapas. Khagarata Nahapana was also an ordinary Kshatrapa at first, but subsequently he became Mahakshatrapa having conquered a part of

- বস্ত্র হৃতঃ প্রৌঢ়ঃ তক্ষকঃ সম্ভবিষ্যতি ।
সৌম্যধ্বনিবিশ্রে বাজা বৈবতাখ্যো মহাবলঃ ॥১১
তথা তন্ত প্রিয়া ভার্যা নামা ক্ষেমকরীতি য়া ।
আনর্ভাষিপতেইশ্রেয় সম্ভবিষ্যতি ভামিনী ॥১২
অনয়া ক্ষেমকরীনিম তদ্বাদেশ্য ভবেদ্ধিমাঃ ॥১৩
ততস্তাং যৌবনোপেতাং বৈবতাং মহীপতিঃ ।
দদৌ সৌম্যধ্বনাখ্যায় কালে বৈবাহিকে শুভে ॥১৪
তথা তাত্যাং হুতা ঝাতা য়েবতী নাম বিপ্রভা ।
যাতুচা যামরুপেন নাপ্রবাতেন ধীমতা ॥১৫

(Nagarakhanda, Ch. 118).

† Early History of the Dekkan, Section V.

Maharashtra, North Konkan, Gujarat, Saurashtra, Anarta and Kachhha. His son-in-law Usavadata son of Dinika was a powerful chief enjoying a high position among the Sakas. His rule extended from Saurashtra to Nasik. In his rock-inscriptions it is told that he used to feed one lac of Brahmanas. In Prabhasa, he arranged the marriage of a large number of Brahmanas and at the time of Chaturmasya he supplied food and clothes to a large number of Bhikshus.*

Usavadata, son of Dinika

From the rock-inscriptions we learn that the Saka king Nahapana had a Brahmana minister named Ayama belonging to the Vatsa-gotra.† According to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar these Saka kings adopted Brahminism. There is no doubt that they were recognised by the Brahmanas as of a superior caste.‡ The Saka-Kshatrapas had matrimonial connections with the Satavahanas of the Deccan and various Kshatriya dynasties, up to the end of the 4th century A. D. The Sakas ruled in Saurashtra and Malava during the period mentioned above. With the ascendancy of the Guptas in Northern India, and of the Chedi and Chalukya dynasties in the south, the kingdom of the Saka-kshatrapas practically disappeared from pages of the Indian history. Having lost political power, the Kshatrapas were merged into the Hindu society and the name of the famous Sakas was forgotten. An important branch of the Sakas were worshippers of Naga, hence they came to be called the Naga family. Some scholars are of the opinion that

Ayama, Brahmin minister of Nahapana

Social uplift of Sakas by matrimonial alliance.

Loss of political power and merging of the Sakas into Hindu society

* Banger Jatiya Itihasa, Brahman-Kanda, part iv p. 1920.

† Archaeological Survey of Western India, Junner Inscription, No. 10.

‡ Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of Dekkan, p. 41.

Naga worshippers are 'Khagarata' as equivalent to Naga or Serpent. The Nagara Brahmins evidently established themselves in Chamatkarapura or Anarta-pura after having driven out these Nagas. At the time of the rule of the Valabhis Anarta-pura was called Anandapura, it is now known as Baṇanagara. Regarding the origin and rise of the Valabhis, Prof. D. R. Bhardarkar observes as follows—

Maitraka tribe
Rise of Valabhi
Bhatarka and Huna hordes

"We now come to the Maitraka tribe. For long it was thought that Maitrakas were the enemies of Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty. But the correct interpretation of the passage, wherein they are mentioned, requires us to suppose that they were the tribe to which Bhatarka belonged. I have elsewhere said that Bhatarka is to be placed *circa* 500 A. D. i. e. exactly the time when the might of the Hunas had overshadowed Northern India. I have little doubt that they entered into India with the Hunas. I have also said that the Maitrakas were the same as Mihiras, the well-known tribe of Mers, as in Sanskrit both Mitra and Mihira mean the same thing, viz., the sun. This itself is enough to stamp the Valabhi dynasty as originally foreign barbarians. In consonance with this view is the fact that the name Bhatarka and perhaps the name of his son Dharasena are hardly indigenous or Hindu, but have all the look of being the sanskritised form of foreign names. And it is no doubt, these princes who brought from the North the word *divira* in *divirā-pati* which occurs in their copper-plate charters, but is a Persian word. With the Maitrakas are closely associated the Nagara Brahmanas, at any rate they

make their appearance first during the regime of the Valabhi dynasty. Mr. Vallabhji Haridatt Acharya of Rajkot has kindly supplied me with a verse, which sets forth what are called the 'sarmans' i. e. name-endings, of the various gotras of the Nagar Brahmanas. It has been found by him in three Mss. of the work Pravara-dhyaya connected with the Nagaras. One of the Mss. is dated samvat 1788 Vaisakha sudi 8 Bhrigu, and all distinctly and unmistakably state that the gotras, and pravaras therein specified are those which were in existence before Samvat 1283. This verse, which is of great importance, runs as follows—

“দত্ত-ভৃগু নন্দঘোষৌ শর্মদাসৌ চ বর্ষ ৫ ।

নাগভক্তাতভূতৌ মিত্রদেবৌ ভবন্তথা ॥”

Here is a list of thirteen 'Sarmans', which were in use amongst the Nagar Brahmins nearly 700 years ago. Even now, they are affixed to these names, when they perform the religious ceremonies. Here, however, we are concerned with three of them, just to show that the list is not a fiction, but has some foundation in fact. These three 'Sarmans' are Mitra, Trata and Datta. In the Pravara-dhyaya, Mitra has been assigned to two gotras, viz. Sarkaraksha and Gaṅgyayana. In my paper on the "Guhilots" I have given extracts from three copper-plates all found at Alina in which the names of the Brahmana grantees as well as of their fathers end in Mitra. Here, then, we have three instances of Mitra 'sarman' That they were Nagara Brahmins is clearly proved by the fact that they all originally belonged to and came from Anarta-pura or Anandapura which is identical with Baṇnagar and the gotras of these donees as

List of
thirteen
Sarmans

Their gotra
and Pravara

given in copper-plates Sarkarakshi, are the same as Sarkaraksha, specified in the Pravaradhyaya. The latter again gives for Trata 'sarman', the gotras Bharadvaja and Atreya. Let us see whether this also is borne out by any inscription. The Varadvaja-Jogia plates of Dhruvasena I dated 221 G.E. speak of the grantees thus :—

“আনন্দপুৰবাস্তব্য-ব্রাহ্মণ-স্বন্দ্রাত-স্বহিতাতাভ্যাং ভবদ্বাজ সগো-
ত্রাত্যাং ছন্দোগসত্রকচাৰিত্যাং”

‘The name Anandapur shows that the grantees here also were Nagara Brahmins. Their names, it is worthy of note, end in Trata, and both are of the Bharadvaja gotra, which thus perfectly agrees with the information contained in the Pravaradhyaya about this ‘sarman.’

Trata & Datta
surnames of
Nagaras at
the time of
Valabhi
ascendancy

Another Valabhi grant has the following—

“আনন্দপুৰবিনিৰ্গত-বলভি-বাস্তব্য-ত্ৰৈবিক্ত সামান্ত-গাৰ্গসগোত্র
অক্ষৰ্ণ-ব্রাহ্মণ কিকপুত্র ব্রাহ্মণ মগোপদত্ত”

Here, also, the donee is a Nagar Brahmana as he is said to have emigrated from Anandapura. His name is Magopadatta, which ends in the Sarman Datta, and his gotra is Gargya which agrees with the Pravaradhyaya, the last giving no less than nineteen gotras for this sarmans of which Gargya is undoubtedly one.

It is thus evident that the Nagar Brahmanas figure first in the time of the Valabhi princes, that the same ‘sarmans’ that are now used were even then current amongst them.”*

The above furnishes evidence of the existence of Nagara Brahmins in Gujarat at the time of the ascendancy of Valabhis.

I have shown on the authority of the Nidhanpur copper plate of Bhaskaravarma that Brahmanas bearing identical surnames lived under the territorial jurisdiction of his ancestor Mahabhativarma enjoying grants of lands from him (circa 475-500 A. D.) It is therefore evident that before the rise of the Valabhis in Gujarat a large number of these Brahmanas lived in the territories of the king of Kamarupa. In view of this it is difficult to accept Prof. Bhandarkar's statements—"I have little doubt that they entered into India with the Hunas" "with the Maitrakas are closely associated the Nagara Brahmanas." "This itself is enough to stamp the Valabhi dynasty as originally foreign barbarians."

Brahmans
with identical
surnames
lived in Kama-
rup long be-
fore the rise of
Valabhis in
Gujarat.

In the year 1896, I wrote in connection with the origin of Nagaras and the Nagari-alphabet,—“It is singular indeed that most of the ancient copper-plates, inscribed in Nagari and found in Gujarat, were granted to those Brahmans who came over to Gujarat from Kanyakubja, Pataliputra and Paundravardhana. The aforesaid Dadda Prasantaraga's Copper-plate of 415 Saka was given to Bhatta Govinda, son of Mahidhara, an inhabitant of Kanyakubja. Likewise, the Rashtrakuta king Nityavarsha's plate of 836 Saka, mentions Tenna, a village of Latadesa, being granted to Siddhapa Bhatta, son of Vellapa Bhatta of the Lakshmana gotra, who came from Pataliputra. Similarly the copper-plate grant of Govinda Suvarnavarsha, dated 854 Saka, speaks of the gift of the village of Loha to Kesava Dikshita of the Kausika gotra, an immigrant from Paundravardhana. It is quite clear from the account given above

Migration of
Nagaras from
Pataliputra
and Paundra-
vardhana to
Gujarat

that numbers of Brahmanas were from very ancient times migrating into Gujarat from Kanyakubja, Pataliputra and Pauṇḍravardhana."*

We have not only got epigraphic data from what has been said above. In the Nagarakhanda of the Skandapurana which is an authoritative work on the Nagara Brahmins, we find that Brahmanas of the Vasistha gotra from Madhupura and Vardbamana in Gauḍa married the daughters of Nagara Brahmanas in Chamatkarapura†. The Madhupura jungle situated in the north of the Dacca district represents the site of old Madhupura. This jungle extends in the north to the river Brahmaputra and in the east to the borders of the district of Sylhet. The famous copper-plate inscription of Bhāskara-varma has been discovered from the village of Nidhanpur in Panchakhanda in the district of Sylhet. From the portion of the inscription which has been recovered, incomplete as it is, we come to know of 205 Brahmanas, 25 surnames and if we take them as separate, altogether 50 gotras, and of the five Vedic denominations, viz. Vahvri-
 chya, Vajasaneyin, Chhandogya, Charakya and Taittiriya. I have already said that in the portion of the inscription which has not yet been found there are mentioned about 100 Brahmanas and a large number of gotras, Brahmanas belonging to each of the five Vedic denominations lived in a Khanda or separate area. The name Panchakhanda is probably explained by this fact.

In the Brihat Saṁhita of Varaha-mihira reference is made to a town named Chandrapura on the sea in Eastern India. This Chandrapura appears to have been the capital of the principal town

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896, p. 134.

† Nagarakhanda, Chap. 199, Sloka 161.

of Chandrapuri Vishaya, Chandrapura on the sea is represented by modern Chandpur. At one time, the entire region extending from the district of Sylhet to Chandpur was under Chandrapuri Vishaya.

If a comparative study is made of the sur-names of the Nāgara Brahmans of Gujarat and those mentioned in the Copper-plate inscriptions of Bhaskaravarma, Lokanātha and Subhakaradeva, the striking similarity between them, would remove all doubt that the Brahmans mentioned in the inscriptions were also Nāgaras. From the Nāgara-khanda of the Skandapurana and the 'Nāgara-pushpanjali' published under the auspices of the Lucknow Nāgar Club, we come to know also that the name of the popular deity of the Nāgara Brahmans is Hāṭakesvara. In the Mahalingarchana Tantra, we come across the following,—

“নূলেপঃ কালীপীঠে ত্রিহটে হাটকেশবঃ ।”

About Hāṭakesvara of Sylhet Dr. K. M. Gupta writes, “The deity of the Nāgara Brahmans, Hāṭakesvara, is also responsible for the name Srihaṭṭa or Sylhet. In the Bhatera Copper-plate inscription of Govinda Keśavadeva (dated *circa* 1049 A. D.) published by me in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XIX, pp. 277-286) the god Siva is Srihaṭṭanātha (line 29). I have no doubt that this Srihaṭṭa Siva of Bhatera (Bhaṭṭapāṭaka of the inscription and wrongly named Bhattapathaka station of the A. B. Ry.) which is about 20 miles from the town of Sylhet is the same as the Hāṭakesvara Siva of Panchakhanda which is about 16 miles from the town. In other places too in the district (e. g. at Chukhal and Guta-

Hāṭakesvar
of Sylhet—
the popular
deity of the
Nāgara
Brahman.

tiṅkar) Siva is known as Hatakesvara or Haṭṭanatha."*

Mr. J. C. Ghosh who was the first to write on the subject said, "For reasons given hereafter, we are led to think that the Brahmanas to whom Bhūti-varma granted the land in about 500 A. D. were of the same stock as the Nagara Brahmanas who are said to have migrated to Gujarat about the same time with the rise of the Valabhi kings. From the Nagarakhanda of Skanda Purana as well as from Nagarapushpājali, we learn that Haṭṭakeśvara Siva is their principal family deity (Kula-devata). The Hatakesvara Linga at Panchakhanda was probably installed by these Brahmanas. We find also in the grant that seven shares of the land were for the purpose of Bali, Charu and Satra. We think that they were meant for Hatakesvara Siva, the family deity of the donees."†

As quoted in the first volume of this work—the following occurs in the Copperplate inscription of the King Vanamāladeva, son of Harjaravarma, the famous king of Kamarupa: 'He acquired great fame by rebuilding the temple of Hatakesvara Siva, which was high as a peak of the Himalayas and for the maintenance of which grants were made of villages, subjects, elephants and dancing girls,' ‡ The inscription goes on to say,— 'As if the creator had given him the name of Vanamāla for his fitness for the sovereignty of the earth up to the end of the forests on

* Amrita Bazar Patrika, Feb., 1, 1931.

† Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI. p. 67.

‡ The Social History of Kamarupa. Vol. I, p. 160.

'the sea-shore.'* The above clearly shows that Sylhet was a part of the domain of Vanamāla. Vanamāla reigned between Circa 830-865 A. D. It was during this time, therefore, that the lofty temple of Hātakesvara Siva was rebuilt. Taking all these facts into consideration, we may reasonably conclude that in a very early period of history some of the Nagar Brahmins of Sylhet had settled down in Gujarat. Evidence is not altogether wanting that at a certain period the influence of Sylhet was very active in Gujarat. Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya has shown that the words 'ꣳꣳ', and 'ꣳꣳꣳꣳ' occurring in the Sunaka grant of the Chalukya king Karkaadeva of Gujarat were used in the inscriptions of Sylhet as expressing measurement of land. Though they have fallen into disuse in Gujarat now, they are still current in Sylhet.†

The conclusion that the Nagar Brahmins of Sylhet settled in Gujarat.

Some may argue that since the Nagarakhanda of the Skandapurana had declared Chamatkarapura (ancient Ānandapura, now Baṇnagar) as the original home of the Nagar Brahmins, on the supposition that they have come to this country from Gujarat. But such presumptions, based as they are on uncorroborated statements, can hardly be taken seriously. From the similarity between the surnames of the Brahmins mentioned in the Copper-plate inscriptions found in Eastern India from the 5th to 8th centuries and the surnames of the Brahmins given in the Copper-plate inscriptions of the 7th century A. D. discovered in Gujarat, none can assume that these Brahmanas, whether in Eastern India or Gujarat were designated Nagar Brahmins.

* The Social History of Kamrupa, Vol. I, p. 161.

† Indian Antiquary, 1923 (January)

In the Nagara-pushpāñjali it is stated :—

“শ্রীমদানন্দপুৰমহাহীনীয় পঞ্চদশশতগোত্রাণাং সংবৎ ২৮৩
পূৰ্ব্বাতিষ্ঠমান গোত্রাণাং সমানপ্রববত্ত নিবন্ধঃ ।” (p. 8)

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar gives the Samvat as 1283. Probably the year 283 in the Nagara-pushpāñjali is a misprint for 1283, the first figure being omitted. This would lead to the conclusion that Nagarakhanda is a compilation of the 13th century, but the use of the word Nagara as a special designation for these Brahmanas dates back from the 10th century A. D.

In my article on the Origin of the Nagari Script written 36 years ago, I stated :—

“It seems therefore that the most ancient Nagari lipi used in Gujarat, was brought over by the Nagara Brahmanas either from Gauḍa or Magadha or from some other country in Northern India to Gujarat. The following is also related in the Skanda Purāṇa Nāgarkhanda, Ch. 108--The eminent Trijāta who had delivered Chamatkarapura from the snakes, gave presents of wealth and jewels and established here in Nagara, and those Brahmanas that had come with their wives and children to Hatakeśvara were mostly from the farthest and the most remote countries.”*

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar observes :—

“I believe all their present sub-divisions except one, are the offshoots of the first swarm of the Nagar Brahmanas who were settled at Anandapura. The exception is that of the Prashnoras, who, it is worthy of note, called themselves Alichchhatras or Ahichchhatrajñatīyas. This points to the conclusion that not only the Nagars of Bombay, Gujarat, but even Gujar Nagars of the Bulandshahar and Jat Nagars

Professor
Bhandarkar's
view re : the
original home
of the Nagar
Brahmanas.

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (1896) p. 131.

were so named after some place called Nagar which was not far from Ahichchhatra. For, if this Nagars had not been in the close neighbourhood of Ahichchhatra, the Nagars and Prashnoras would not have belonged to the same stock, and consequently the latter, when they emigrated from Ahichchhatra and came into Gujarat, would not have been admitted into the Nagar caste. Now, there is such a place in the Sawalakh hills, called Nagar or Nagarkot which was the old name of Kangra, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Punjab." "It is this Nagarkot, I conjecture, that was like Ahichchhatra, the cradle of a caste of Brahmanas called Nagar or Nagar Brahmanas not only in the Bombay, Gujarat, but in Mysore and in Nepal also. There are again sub-divisions—named Nagar, Nagri or Nagaria among the Kashmiri, Kanaujia and Maithili Brahmanas."*

From the two treatises on the Nagara Brahmanas of Gujarat written by two Nagara Pandits,† we find the following quotation from their family records—

“ভূতিভবৌ নাগদত্তৌ মিঃ দেবৌ চ বর্ষ চ ।
 শুশুনন্দৌ চ ষোড়শ শর্ষদাসৌ চ দাম চ ॥
 ত্রাদৌ চ শর্ষণ আম্ব্যায়নসংজিতাঃ ॥
 মুদগলেনৈব মুনির্না চতুর্দশ ইতীৰ্বিতাঃ ।”

Bhati, Bhava, Nagadatta, Mitra, Deva, Varma, Gupta, Nanda, Ghosha, Sarma, Dasa, Dama, Trata and Datta—these fourteen Sarmans are the family designation established by sage Mudgala.

* Indian Antiquary (1911) vol. XL, p. 34.

† Vide Natarotipatti (in Gujarati) by Gangasankara Pancholi, p. 125 and another by Manasankar Pitambar Dasa Mitha, p. 47

The *Nagara-pushpāñjali* * also gives us the following particulars of the surnames, gotras and veda-śakha of the *Nagara Brahmanas* current amongst them till now ;—

<i>Sarman†</i>	<i>Gotra</i>	<i>Pravara</i>	<i>Veda</i>
1. Datta	Alambayana	vasistha Mailtravaruna, Kaundinya	Yajus
2. „	Alubhayana	Vasistha, Maitravaruna, Kaundinya	Yajus
3. „	Kaundinya	Vasistha „ „ Sama &	Yajus
4. „	Parasara	Vasistha Saktri Parasare	Atharva
5. „	Jatukarna—	Vasistha „ „	Yajus
6. „	Aupamanyu	Angirasa Autathya Gautama	Sama
7. „	Agnivesya	Angirasa Varhaspatya Bharadvaja	„
8. „	Mauneya	„ „ „	Sama
9. „	Sangyanas	Sainya Gargya	Yajus
10. „	Matrikayana	Angirasa Paurukutsa Trasadasya	„
11. „	Ganganas	Angirasa Sankritya Gauravita	Rik
12. „	Sankritya	„ „ „	„
13. „	Aitikayana	Bhrigu Chyavana Apnavan Aurva Jamadagni	„
	„	Kasyapa Avatsara Naidhruva	Sama

* The *Nagara-pushpāñjali* (in 5 parts) published by *Nagar Club*, Lucknow. (1907-1922 A.D.)

† The *sarman* is used only on religious occasion, but every one always used their *avatanka* or family titles which is mentioned here according to above serial number ;—

1. Mehata talavada. Kamarecha, Sehamari M., Bhagalia M., Alubhau M., Ghorī M., Kalia M., Jangama M., Ghalia M., Chandrecha M., Jutha M., Koratia M., Valambha M., Virola Joshi, Chitrola Bh., Bhudola Bh., Vilambha Sukla.

2. Kananecha, Bhugata-Jhankhora-Kamanecha.

3. Tara of Yajurvedi and Dhanturiya Panchia, Phalo ia Sinduria, Balisakha, Satiya, Bhualdia Bhatia. Tara Bh., Aposiya Bh., Halā M. of Samavedin.

4. Chalasana Raval pansara, Vishnottara, Pandya, Balasrotra, Vavarecha (Pansara), Kanthavia P., Ralihania P., Navechia, Nigranthall, Acharya, Basaiya M., Mahota M., Havalia Paucholi, Parotakamania, Pelodara Ravi, Dana R., Alathora R., Bhandia R., Iathala R., Manodara R.

5. Bhadutans, 6. Madhyaka M., 7. Chati, 11. Chandrecha P., 12. Metapa, Karatara, Sabolia P., 13. Mangasarana

<i>Sarman</i>	<i>Gotra</i>	<i>Pratare</i>	<i>Vid</i>
14.	Datta Katyayana	Bhrigu Chyavana Apnavan Aurva Jamadagni	"
15.	" Kausala	" " " " "	Yaju
16.	" Panini	" " " " "	Rik
17.	" Vatsa	" " " " "	"
18.	" Vatsya	" " " " "	"
19.	" Atri	Atri Archanana Syavasva	Yajus
20.	" Atreya	" " "	"
21.	" Udala	Kasyapa Avatsara Naidhruva	Rik
22.	" Audvala	" " "	"
23.	" Kasyapa	" " "	Yajus
24.	" Kausikēya	" " "	"
25.	" Sangakayana	Angirasa Varhaspatya Bharadvaja Gargya Satya Gargya	Rik
26.	" Uj amanya	Vasistha Indrapramada Abharadvasa	Fama
27.	" Sankl yayana	" " "	"
28.	Nagadatta Kapisthala	V. sistha Kapisthala	Rik
29.	Narda Gautama	Angirasa Antahya Gautama	Yajus
30.	" Gopaja	Vasistha Saktri Parasara	Rik
31.	Dasa Vajjavapa	Atri Gavisthira Purvatithi	"
32.	" Darbhya	Angirasa Ambarisha Y uvanasva	A harva
33.	" Pippalada	Sandilya Asita Devala	"

14. Panchala. 15. Pascha Bhattiya.

17. Datutaniya R., Unana R., Dhantaria P., Gola M.,
Vararechia M.

19. Udela. 20. Uma'ana M., Pa'yuta. 21. Dhudhara.

23. Varakhutia M., Sandharupa Pura Vyasa, Kakhoda Dave
Kakhoda Jani, Kakhoda Joshi, Mah Sania Joshi, Akasia R.

26. Madhyaka M.

28. Sorathia M., Pancholia P., Bhalakia Joshi, Sadri-
kshana Bh., Sinohyakshara, Devathalia M., Daucha M.,
Dadreja M., Var.kho iya M., Mandaba R., Kapisthala
Dave.

29. Modasiya Vyasakavi Lana, Kadechiya, Vyasa,
Bhankharia Vyasa, Yokadia T, Kamboiya R, Triabhada Joshi,
Ghavada P., Manasia P., Kahagana P., Panasari Bh., Da-
thaliya M., Udhiya Joshi, Modasia Matavara, Godhaviya
Joshi, Chhapari Bata Joshi, Parcta.

30. Kanthya 31. Kharoda P., Patolia M., Phacharia
P., Kharoda Goradi, a M.

32. Mahiyecha Vyasa, Ladota P., Mahiyecha Bh.

33. Chursila,

<i>Sarman</i>	<i>Cotra</i>	<i>Pravare</i>	<i>Veda</i>
34. Dasa	Lakshana	Kasyapa Avatsara Naidhruva	Yajus
35. "	Vatsapala	Kasyapa " "	"
36. "	Gopala	Vasistha Saktri Parasara	Rik
37. "	Pippalayana	Kasyapa Asita Devala	Atharva
38. Sarma	Aukshanasa	Vasistha Saktri Parasara	Yajus
39.	Sandilya	Sandilya Asita Devala	Atharva
40. Mitra	Sarkarasha	Bhrigu, Chyavana Apnavan Aurva. Jamadagni	Rik
41. "	Gangyayana	Sandilya Asita Devala or Agneya Vasistha Angirasa	
42. "	Laukaksha	Kasyapa Vatsar Naidhruva	Yajus
43. Trafa	Bharadvaja	Angirasa Varhaspatya Bharadvaja	Rik & Sama
44.	Atreya	Atreya Atri Archaya	Sama
45. Bhava	Gargya	Angirasa Varhaspatya Bharadvaja	Yajus
46. "	Sanyakana	Gargya	Rik
47. "	Galava	Visvamitra Devarata Audala	Rik
48. Gupta	Gaurisravas	Vasistha	Atharva
49. "	Chhandogya	Atri. Archanana, Syavasva	Yajus
50. "	Kaundinya	Kaundinya Mitravaruna Asita	Sama
51. Bhuti(Bhumi)	Bharadvaja	Angirasa Varhaspatya Bharadvaja	Rik

34. Kathora. 35. Chitracha. Madhuriya.

36. Vija Acharya. 37. Rava a Balyada.

38. Umatiya M., Saduthaliya M., Hediya R, Laudiya R., Sinduria M., Chandrachiya M., Kamboiya R., Hediya Bh.

39. Sukata, Poduliya P., Kharola Tr. Mesaniya R. Sukla.

40. Vandiya M., Kharadiya Vyasa, Virapura Jani, Patidha P., Phichodia P., Kasara, Mathaliya D., Kavirapura P., Kamboiya P., Adudhadeva P., Danturia P., Bhalakiya P., Bikhada M., Kantharabia P., Nandasia Vyasa, Kasara-Medh-Kotha-Maddavarat.

41. Sagokhareti M., Padi-Gola, Duthi, Chandrecha,

42. Kacharana.

43. Mahipai Bh., Idaria Bh., Nuniya Tr., Virola M., Satu. Saniya P., Desai, Maharaja, Sinduriatara Tr., Jhatharval. Chacharia, Thakoradhar.

44. Lagadhu. Ulapargia busa.

45. Kadiya J., Bagadiya J., Lalpura Jo., Jambala Jo. Pethapara R.

47. Bhandiya M., Ubhana, Panchotiya P.

48. Mankanecha. 49. Podaliya P. (Karatala).

50. Travadi, Basbora, Tar R. 51. Thspara.

<i>Sarman</i>	<i>Gotra</i>	<i>Pravare</i>	<i>Veda</i>
52. Bhuti	Varaha	Angirasa Varhashaptya Bharadvaja	Sama
53. Deva	Sankhyayana	Atri Gavisthira Purvatithi	"
54. "	Brihadatreya	Atri Archanana Syavasva	Rik
55. "	Kausika	visva nitra Devarata Audala	"
56. "	Patini	Visvamitra Aghamarshana Madhuchhandas	Atharva
57. Ghosha	Darbhayana	Kasyapa Avatsara Naidhruva	Rik
58. "	Darbhasa	Kasyapa Asita Devala	Atharva
59. "	Sankhyana		

I have already shown that one thousand and five hundred years ago, there were in Eastern India Brahmans having the same surnames, gotras and denominations as are characteristic to the Nagara Brahmanas of to-day. In the Nāgara-khanda among the Brahmins of which is the home of the main body of the Nagara Brahmanas Ashṭakula is looked upon with great respect as representative of the aristocratic element of this community. In like manner. Ashṭakula had been the object of particular regard in Eastern India from very early times. So much so that among those Brahmans with the surnames of Datta, Rakshita, Pati, Aditya, etc., who came and settled in Orissa under the patronage of the Bhauma kings, mention is made in the charter of Tunga dynasty of their Ashṭakula, who were honoured by land-grant.¹ It has also been said that the class of Nagara Brahmanas called Prasnoras points to Ahichchhatra as their original home. In a copper-plate inscription of Gayaḍatunga, we find that grants of lands made to the descendants of a

52. Supanakha. 53. Pasaula, 54. Varabaura, 55. Karkasana, 56. Badi Socha. 57. Kukada Bh., Maruda D., Kukada Vyasa. 58. Maroda D, Chankavat D, 59. Dera Sris.

¹ Bh. = Bhatla, D. = Dave, J. = Jani, Jo. = Joshj.

M. = Meha a, P. = Pandya, R. = Raval, Tr. = Travadi.

(1) Vide Mayurabhanja Archeological Survey Reports, Vol. I. p. 156.

Brahman from Ahichchhatra, Veda Ghosha's sons, Sri-Ghosha and his two brothers.¹

We know from the Kulapañji or genealogical records of the Dakshinatya Vaidikas of South Bengal, that they have also surnames of Dhara, Kara, Nandi, Bhadra, etc., and belong to the Draviḍa stock.²

The connect
on between
Srihatta
Brahmanas
and Orissa.

I have already discussed that the name of Srihatta is derived from Haṭakesvara who is the family deity of the Nagara Brahmanas. The Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription mentions grants of lands being made by Bhutivarma, king of Kamarupa for vali, charu and satra in connection with the worship of Haṭakesvara. It is needless to mention that even from that early age, the Sylhet Brahmanas had been connected with Orissa. An indication of this can be had in Jayananda's Chaitanya-Maṅgala. Jayananda tells us that the ancestors of Sri-Chaitanya resided in Yajpur in Orissa. They left the place for fear of the king Bhramaravara and came to Sylhet. When Chaitanyadeva visited Yajpur one of his kinsmen Kamalanayana Misra was still residing there. Chaitanya rested for a while in his house.

Dakshinatya
Vaidiks.

Had there been no previous connection with Srihatta, the ancestors of Sri-Chaitanya would not have selected this place instead of Vanga for settlement. In the short biography of Chaitanya "Chaitanyodayavali" written in Sylhet, he has been called a Dakshinatya Vaidika. If the antecedents of the Dakshinatya Vaidikas who came to Bengal later, are studied carefully there would be no doubt

(2) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900, p. 348.

(3) Vide Vango Dakshinatya Vaidika by Kṛṣṇa chandra Bhattacharya, p. 5.

that they were of the same stock as the Nagara Brahmanas. In their genealogies also, respect for Ashṭakula has been inculcated. Some among the Sāmpradāyika Brahmins who now reside in Sylhet, appear to be descendants of the Brahmanas of Panchakhanda mentioned in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions.

Now, the question arises that if Srihaṭṭa had indeed been from very early times the home of the Nagara Brahmanas, why should not they be known as such like the Nagara Brahmanas of Gujarāt ? Though at present no one in Sylhet is called a Nagara Brahmana, we know that at one time this designation was occasionally used. The name of Iṣāna Nāgara, the author of the "Advaitaprakāśa" is well known to those who have any acquaintance with the Vaishnava literature of Bengal. Iṣāna lost his father when he was five years old and his mother left Sylhet with her son. She came to Sāntipur and secured the hospitality of Advaita Acharyya. The mother and son were both formally initiated into the spiritual life by Advaita Acharyya. Through his efforts Iṣāna became a distinguished scholar. He had a very great respect for his master. When the Acharyya slept, he used to perform such humble services as gently touching and rubbing his master's feet. Detecting him thus one day, Advaita told him that a Brahmin was forbidden to perform such services, whereupon Iṣāna tore up his holy-thread which was the insignia of his superior caste. Iṣāna loved his master so much that he mourned his loss as long as he lived. At the behest of Advaita's widow Sitādevi, he went to East Bengal and after his marriage settled down as a householder. In memory of his dear master he wrote the biography in the

year 1490 of the Saka era at Lauḍa which is a place in Sylhet.⁴ His descendants are now living near Goalando, Faridpur district as Raḍhi Brahmans.⁵

There is a tradition among the Nagara Brahmanas that their ancestors came to Gujarat from the Himalayan region. According to the Sahyadrikhanda, Drāviḍa Brahmanas are said to have migrated to the south at the invitation of Paraśurama from Ahichchhatra in the Himalayan region and settled in the Deccan. The Nagara Brahmanas also belong to this Drāviḍa stock. The Praśnora group of the Nagara Brahmanas still points to Ahichchhatra as their primitive home. According to the Vāstrapatha Mahatmya of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of Skandapurāṇa, the original home of the Brahmanas of this country existed somewhere near the foot of the Himalayan mountains.⁶ As already shown, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar points the place Nagarkot which is situated in the proximity to Ahichchhatra and Sapādalaksha as the ancestral home of the Nagara Brahmanas.

In the Karatoya Mahatmya of the Skanda Purāṇa occurs the following passage :—

‘After taking a bath in the sacred waters of the Karatoya, Jamadagnya Paraśurama in the Tretā Yuga made gifts in Kotiśailādṛīpa in Pauṇḍradeśa to the Sapādalaksha Brahmanas for obtaining the fruits of Bhakti and Mukti. In the North west corner of the Skanda-maṇḍapa Rāma held his magnificent court. Here stayed Sapādalaksha Brahmanas. I bow down to the original

(4) *Vide* Visvakosha (Encyclopædia) Vol XVIII. p.125.

(5) *Old Jagor* Purushottama of Vraja merged into Maschatakpani of Radhi Sreni, *vide* Banger Jatiya Itihasa.

Vol. I. Pt. 1 p, 299

(6) *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV. p. 239.

home Sri-Paundravardhana full of temples of the gods Skanda, Vishnu, Valabhadra, Siva and others, and the sanctity of the place takes away sins of every one as it is washed away by the waters of Karataya.⁷

I have stated before that from a copper-plate inscription of Gayaḍatuṅga wherein it is related that he made grants in Kalinga to Brahmanas coming from Paundravardhana. In another inscription of the king also, we find a reference to similar grants being made to Brahmanas from Ahichchhatra. It is, therefore, evident that the Brahmanas mentioned in the Nidhanpur and Neulpur copper-plate grants shared the same home with the ancestors of the Nagara Brahmanas of Gujarat whose original home were the foot of the Himalayas. The local inscriptions do not bear any such surnames of the Brahmanas who live in the Himalayan region at Nagarkota or Sapadalaksha or on the Sivalik mountains. This makes it doubtful whether these surnames were evolved when the Nagara Brahmanas lived there. But there is no lack of evidence to show that from very early times there existed a close connection between Ānandapura in Gujarat with Eastern

(7) “ততঃ পরন্তবামেতি পৃথিব্যাং খ্যাতবিক্রমঃ ।

জামদগ্ন্য মহাবীৰ্য্যজ্ঞেতায়ে যন্ত সংস্থিতিঃ ॥১৪

পৌণ্ড্র কোটিশিলাদীপে মহাপুণ্যে স্তুবিশ্রুতে ।

কবতোয়াসবিত্তীৰং শবীৰাত্তপাবনম্ ।

ভক্তিযুক্তিফলার্থায় যেনাকাৰি দ্বিজার্পণং ॥১৬

স্বন্দমণ্ডপবায়বো সঃ। রামস্ত চাভূত ।

সপাদলক্ষবিপ্রাণং যত্রান্তেহুতকৰ্ম্মণাং ॥

আত্মভুবো ভবনলক্ষসপাদবৈপ্রৈ-

স্বন্দাদিবিষ্ণু-বলভদ্র-শিবাদিদৈবৈঃ ॥

অধ্যুষিতং কবতলাস্তুবিধুতপাং

ঐপৌণ্ড্র বর্দ্ধনপুংগু শিবসো নমামি ॥” (কবতোয়ামাহাশ্রম)

Kokamukha
a place of
pilgrimage.

India. In Chap. 122 of the Varāhapurana, it is related that a Saka king of Anandapura travelled a long distance to see Kokamukha with his wife who was a daughter of the king of Chandrapura. There is reference to Kokamukha which was a place of pilgrimage in the Mahabharata (Vanaparva, Canto 84, Anuśasanaparva, Canto 25) the Brahmapurana (Cantos 219 and 229), the Varahapurana (Cantos 113, 122, 140) and other old texts. In the Brahmapurana it is stated, that the Varāha Avatara after having freed Devas and Pitris from the fear of the demons, performed the śradh ceremony at Kokamukha. It is also stated that the Earth by her contact with Varāhadeva gave birth to Narakasura. He also gave Pragjyotisha or Kamarupa to Naraka who was brought up by Rajarshi Janaka, the king of Mithila. This story had been told in detail in the first volume of this work. The evidence of the Puranas referred to above points to the conclusion that the holy land Kokamukha was situated between Mithila and Kamarupa. In the Brahmapurana, Varahadeva says—‘The famous river Koka sheltered by the prince of mountains is as sacred as one crore of tirthas taken together. I will reside here for the purging of sins. The very sight of Varaha will free one from all sins, its worship will lead to both happiness and salvation’.⁸

(8) “কোকানদোতি বিখ্যাতা গিরিবাজসমাপ্রিতা ।

তীৰ্থকোটমহাপুৰী সৰ্ব্বৰূপপরিপালিতা ॥

অস্ত্রামস্ত্র প্রভৃতি বৈ নিবৎশাস্ত্রাঘনাশকং ।

বরাহদৰ্শনং পুণ্যং পূজনং ভুক্তিমুক্তিদম্ ॥”

(ব্রহ্মপুরাণ ২১৯/১০৬-১০৭)

The copper-plate inscription of the 5th century A.D. belonging to the period of the Emperor Budha Gupta which has been discovered at Damodarpur, makes mention of a linga called Sveta Varaha Svami and of Kokamukha Svami. There is therefore no doubt that Kokamukha tirtha and the Sveta-Varaha linga are of even more ancient origin. During the first century A. D. the Sakas were still supreme in Gujarat. I have said elsewhere that the influence of the Saka Kshatrapas extended up to Eastern India.* It is not unlikely that there should have taken place a marriage between the daughter of the king of Chandrapura and the Saka prince of Anandapura when Eastern India was under the subjection of the Sakas. The testimony of the Varahapuraṇḍa cannot, therefore, be dismissed as fanciful. It is a matter of surprise that the site and the titles of the Brahmanas mentioned in Bhaskara Varma's Nidhanpur charter also belong to the Chandrapuri Visaya.*

(9) *Vide* Banger Jatiya Itihasa, Rajanyakanda, p. 59

* In the 6th century A. D. Varahamihira. in his Vrihatsanhita mentions Chandrapura among the eastern provinces. The Uttara-tantra describes Chandrapura in the following terms :—

“দিব্যং মনোহরং বন্যং শ্রীমচ্চন্দ্রপুৰং শুভম্”
 সমুদ্রসোপকণ্ঠে তু হেমপ্রাকারমণ্ডিতম্ ।
 যোজনায়তবিশ্তোৰ্ধ্বং নানাবজ্রোপশোভিতম্ ।
 নানা হৰ্ষ্যাণি দিব্যানি নানাবজ্রময়ানি চ ॥”

(Vide H.F. Shastri's Nepal Catalogue No.299)

Pandit Padmanath Vidyavinoda is of the opinion that Chandrapura visaya was situated in Northern Bengal somewhere near Rangpur (vide his Presidential address at the annual meeting of the Rangpur Sahitya Parisad in 1333 B.S.), But according to Uttaratantra, the city of Chandrapura was close to the sea. It seems therefore that the districts of Sylhet, Mymensingh and Rangpur situated as they are to the north of the sea were at one time known as the Chandrapuri-visaya,

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes :—"The attention of scholars may be drawn to a passage which occurs in the *Paradārika* section of the *Kāmasutra* of Vatsyayana. The section is concerned with zenana women and their protection. * * * It informs us that in Vanga, Anga and Kalinga the *Nagara Brahmanas* (V. 6, 41) enter the zenana with the object of offering flowers and with the knowledge of the king." "As a matter of fact, the *Brahmanas* of Gauḍa also were notorious for their carnal practices, and are mentioned in connection with the palace ladies of Gauḍa. But they are there called simply *Brahmana* and not *Āgāra Brāhmanas*, though they surely belonged to the capital town of Gauḍa. If we thus impartially consider the expression *Āgāra-Brahmonāh* it seems that here *Āgāra Brahmanas* are intended. And if this interpretation of ours is entitled to any weight, we have further to infer that they were in the time of Vatsyayana settled in Anga, Vanga and Kalinga."*

From above we ascertain that the *Nagara Brahmanas* lived in Bengal, Behar and Orissa long before 2nd century A. D.

The *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* (Chap. 199) says,— "In *Bhojakaṭa* of *Madhupura* in the *Gauḍadeśa* a *Brahmana* of the *Vaṣiṣṭha* gotra lived. His son who was on a visit to *Prabhasa-tirtha* married the daughter of a *Nagara Brahmana* at *Chamatkarapura*.' This *Madhupura* is the same as the modern *Madhupur* jungle which is in *Dacca District* and is in the neighbourhood of *Sylhet district*.

In the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* (Chap. 199) the above inhabitant of *Madhupura* is mentioned as a *Mlechchha*. I have shown in the first volume

of this work that the descendants of Naraka or Bhauma kings of Assam were commonly known as Mlechchha or Mlecha Brahmanas. The Vaidika Brahmanas of course regarded them with contempt. The Mechas are still ruling in Kuch Bihar and their priests also belong to the Vaṣiṣṭha gotra. We have already gathered from an old rock-inscription that a Saka chief had a minister of the Vaṣiṣṭha gotra.* It is no wonder that a Brahmana of Prāgyjotishapura was offered the post of the prime-minister by the Saka king of Anandapur. There is nothing improbable in the story that in some remote period when the Mlechchha royal dynasty of Pragjyotishapura was regarded as Brahmana, a certain Mlechchha Brahmana visited Gujarat with the object of making pilgrimage to Prabhāsa.

We have seen that the Mlechchha or Bhauma kings of Kamarupa were devoted to the god Hātakesvara of Srihatta. We also find from a book called "Brahmanotpatti-mārtanda" by Harikrishna Sarma-Sastri published in Bombay that Srihatta was the original home of the Sri-Gauḍa Brahmanas of Gujarat. The author's textual quotations that Srihatta was the ancestral home of these Gauḍa Brahmanas who came to be known as Sri-Gauḍas. It was from Srihatta that they moved in different directions. Some went to Malava, others to Gurjara via Marudhenva with the same appellation as Sri-Gauḍa.† It is not improbable that like the Sri-Gauḍas, the Nagara

Sri Gauda
Brahmanas
and their
original
home.

* B. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of Dekkan, p. 22

† "জাতা শ্রীহট্টনগরান্নির্গতাশ্চ দিশো দশ ॥ ৪২

মাগবে চ গতঃ কোচন্ মরুধন্থে তথা পবে ।

শ্রীগোড়া ইতি ব্রহ্ম গ্রাম শ্রীকাবষোগতঃ ॥ ৪৩

Brahmanotpattimārtanda, p. 130

Chandrapur
Visaya
whence the
Nagara Brah-
manas pro-
bably migra-
ted to
Gujarat,

Brahmanas came over to Gujarat also. It may be remembered that the Nagarakhanda bears a testimony to the connection between the Brahmanas of Madhupura (Bhojakaṭa) in Gauḍa and the Nagara Brahmanas of Gujarat. Varāhapurāṇa further gives us a story of the marriage between the princess of Chandrapura and the Śaka king of Anandapura. The copper-plate inscription of Nidhanpur indicates the existence of Chandrapuri Vishaya in the 5th century A.D and Brahmanas bearing surnames such as Ghosha, Vasu, Mitra etc., 13 of which are mentioned in Nāgarapushpañjali and Nāgarotpatti as being used by the Nāgara Brahmanas. There should, I believe, be no objection to the view that like the Sri-Gauḍa Brahmanas, the ancestors of the Nagara Brahmanas of Gujarat hailed from Chandrapuri Visaya which was a part of the ancient kingdom of Kamarupa. The request of a queen to invite Brahmanas from her paternal kingdom on the occasion of a religious sacrifice is not an uncommon feature in the genealogical records of Gauḍa.* We are, therefore, fully justified in accepting the testimony of the Varahapurāṇa that at the request of the princess of Chandrapura, the Śaka King invited Brahmanas to Anandapura. Up to the 3rd century A. D., the Śaka dynasty was in power in Gujarat ; it may, therefore, be concluded that Brahmanas from Chandrapuri Vishaya arrived there during that time.

The surnames of Brahmanas mentioned in the Nidhanpur Charter and the Tipperah Copperplate inscription of Lokanātha are peculiar to Eastern India. They are now in vogue only among the community of Brahmanas and Kayasthas or

* *Vide Gaude Brahmana*, by Mahima Chandra Mazumder 2nd Ed. p. 37.

Kshatriyas whose ancestors migrated to the Western provinces or the Deccan. The 14 principal surnames of the Nagara Brahmanas prove that their ancestors came from Gauḍa. At one time large numbers of Brahmanas who had similar surnames lived in Gauḍa and Kamarupa. Like the five Sagnika Brahmanas who came to Gauḍa and laid the foundation of the two great Brahmana communities viz. Rāḍhiyas and Varendras in Bengal, so the seven Brahmanas and the Kayasthas from Gauḍa formed the vast social framework of Kamarupa.* In the like manner a number of Brahmanas from Srihaṭṭa or Chandrapura within the territorial limits of Kamarupa founded the Nagara Brahmana community in Gujarat.

Now, the question is that if the ancestors of the Nagara Brahmanas belonged to Eastern India, why should their descendants deny this and point to the Himalayas or the northern regions as their primitive home? I have shown from the Karatoyā-māhātmya that in very remote times there was in Eastern India a colony of Sapādalaksha Brahmanas. In the opinion of Prof. Bhandarkar Nagarkot near Sapādalaksha was the original home of the Nagara Brahmanas, and from the Nagara-puspanjali we learn that the Prasnoras, also a branch of the Nagara Brahmana community, regarded themselves as being descended from a group of Brahmanas of Ahichchhatra. On the other hand, in the copper-plate inscriptions of Gayaḍatunga, the three sons of Vedaghosha, Sri Ghosha and his brothers have been mentioned as Brahmanas hailing from Ahichchhatra. Ahichchhatra is identified as a place in Sapādalaksha

* Vide Vol. II. p. 12. 34.

near Nagarkot which was the cradle of a section of the Nagara Brahmanas before their advent in Eastern India.

In a book entitled the *Rajavañsavalī* by Raja Upendrasinha who is said to be a descendant of Bhagadatta, it is written that the king Bhagadatta at the suggestion of his son-in-law Duryyodhana brought in Brahmanas belonging to the five gotras—Kāsyapa, Sāṇḍilya, Bharadvaja, Upamanyu and Parasara at a cost of Panchalaksha. In the first volume, a clear indication is given that the Himalayan region was under the sway of Bhagadatta. It is not unlikely that on account of the want of local knowledge the author of *Rajavañsavalī* stated “Panchalaksha” (five laks) instead of Sapādalaksha or one and a quarter laks. The statements made in the book may not all be accepted as history, but their importance lies in the large number of very old traditions—which they embody.*

• It seems that with the spread of the Aryan civilisation in Kamarupa under Bhagadatta, Brahmanas came and settled in this part of the country. In the *Rajavansavalī* kings of the dynasty of Bhagadatta have been described as Mlech Brahmanas. In the 7th century A. D. Yuan Chuang who met Bhaskaravarma in Kamarupa has spoken of him as a Brahmana. The fact that not only Bhaskaravarma but even his remote ancestors bore the title “Varma” led many to suppose that this dynasty belonged to the Kshatriya caste. But as “Varma” is recognised as one of the 14 Amushyayanas or Sarmans of the Nagara Brahmanas of Gujarat, the presumption that Brahmanas holding this title also existed in Kamarupa cannot be easily set aside. The matrimonial connections which the Mlech Brahmanas bearing the title “Varma” had with the pure Nagara Brahmanas after their settlement in Gujrat surely came to be regarded as disgraceful by the latter and this is probably the reason why the surname Varman, although 13 of the Amushyayanas still remained in existence, among the Nagara Brahmanas, has been expunged.

Though Nagarkot, Ahichchhatra or Sapadalaksha was the original home of the Nagara Brahmanas we do not find any evidence as to the existence of their having the aforesaid surnames of Ghosha, Vasu, Mitra etc. This would point to the conclusion that the ancestors of such Brahmanas acquired their distinguishing surnames after they had migrated to Eastern India. When, in the distant past, they came here they were known by the names of Sapadalaksha, Ahichchhatra or Nagara as has already been pointed out. There is still some obscure tradition to that effect.

The Nagara
acquired their
surnames
from
Eastern India

The principal object of worship of the Nagara Brāhmanas is the Haṭakesvara linga. The Bhauma kings of Kamarupa were mostly Saivas or worshippers of the linga. The linga called Svetavaraha-svami, previously mentioned, was their popular deity. In the Nidhanpur charter the words “বলিচৰু সত্তোপদোগায় সপ্তাংশঃ” ‘seven shares are allotted for defraying the cost of Vali, Charu and Satra for the worship of the deity’ are found. This deed of gift was made by Maharāja Bhutivarma in the 5th century in favour of Brahmanas numbering upwards of 200 who held such surnames as Vasu, Ghosha etc. That the name of their favourite deity was Haṭakesvara is borne out by the copperplate inscription of a later Bhauma king Vanamāla in which mention is made of the rebuilding of the temple of Haṭakesvara.

In the Ekalinga Māhātmya of Padmapurāna Pātālakhanda, the reason why the Brahmanas of this place came to be known as Nāgaras is given as they were said to be guarded or founded by the Nāgas.* In the Nagarakhanda

* Vide Brahmanotpatti-martandīa, p. 497.

also there is an account of the marriage of a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa with a Nāga girl. Even the copperplate inscriptions of Bhauma kings mention the names of a large number of Brāhmanas with the title of Naga and among the names of the Nāgara Brāhmanas of Gujarat, we come across such title as Nāgadatta. These surnames bear testimony to the connection with the Nāgas. Antiquarian scholars agree that the name Nāgarkhanda by which Gujarat was known at one time is also derived from the word Naga.†

“The author of the Dabistan calls Gujarat Brāhmanas as Naga Brāhmanas and seems to incline to trace the special class of Nāgaras to a foreign origin”‡

A word of caution is necessary here. The words “foreign origin” should not make one think that the ancestors of Nāgara Brāhmanas were aliens in India. It is only implied that they were not natives of Gujarat or Western India. I have already shown that the Nāgara Brāhmanas were not the local Brāhmanas of Gujarat, but were different from the class of Brāhmanas whose origin is traced in the Smritis and Puranas to Brāhmā. Rightly speaking the origin of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas has not yet been properly explained by any one. One of the important points to be noted here is that like the Brāhmanas of Kamarupa, the Nāgara Brāhmanas of Gujarat arrange the marriage of their daughters after they attain puberty. “Except among Nāgars whose girls are seldom married before they are thirteen,

† Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. pt. III. p. 28.

‡ Do Do Vol IX. pt. I. p. 438.

Gujarati Brahmins generally marry their girls between seven and eleven irrespective of the bridegroom's age.†" Some may argue that though there may be some resemblance between the customs and usages of the Nāgara Brahmanas of Gujarat and those found among the modern Brahmanas of Kamarupa, there is no agreement in respect of surnames and names of gotras. The reason is that the early Brahmanas were forced to leave their original homes as a result of foreign attacks and political revolutions and were scattered in different directions in quest of honour and abode. I have already spoken of those among them who settled in Gauḍa and Utkala at the invitation of the Bhauma kings, some of those who remained within the territorial jurisdiction of Kamarupa intermingled with the Maithils and Gauḍa Brahmanas who had come there subsequently being attracted by their position and influence, and became all but completely absorbed into their society.

There is, however, no doubt that the condition of these Brahmins underwent profound changes as a result of political, social and religious upheavals. The history of the Nāgara Brahmins of Gujarat shows how their caste was affected by political revolutions. Pandit Gangasankar writes, "When Gujrat was being attacked by foreigners, the king who was reigning at the time was powerless to protect the wealth, honour and lives of his subjects from their onslaughts. Consequently the Nāgara Brahmins became very anxious as to the means by which their community could be defended. They reflected that if they in a body were to take to the sword their religion would suffer

† Bombay Gazette, Vol. IX. p. 37.

and that the daily practices obligatory on them would have to be given up. They, therefore, did not get ready for the battle one and all, but, instead, chose 5000 only among themselves for the Kshatriya profession. These were the first to be known by the name Sepahi Nagar. According to Pandit Lokanath in his 'Nāgarot-patti' that this event took place in 424 samvat. If we take the Valabhī Samvat then we get the date at 743 A. D. The Sephai Nagars succeeded in defending Baṇnagar. Afterwards they served as Subedars in Gujarat and as sepoys in Delhi. The Sepahi Nagars became isolated from the community of the Nagar Brahmins as a result of their profession which made them abandon the proper duties of Brahmins and which involved the sin of man-slaughter.* Dr. D. R. Bhandarakar has shown that the Guhilot dynasty to which the Rānas of Mewar belong was actually founded by Nagar Brahmins although it is now regarded as Kshatriya, being designated as the solar dynasty. Pandit Gangasankar is of opinion that the Sepahi Nagars first established the kingdom of Valabhipura and that the Guhilot dynasty was descended from the Valabhi royal dynasty.

From various extant eulogistic passages we learn that many Brahmins pursued the avocation of the Kayastha. The poet Sodḍhala who lived in the 11th century and who was the author of the 'Udayasundari-Kathā' proudly spoke of himself as the descendant of Kaladitya, the brother of the Valabhi king Siladitya and as belonging to the Valabha Kayastha dynasty and as a Kshatriya. In the 7th century A. D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan

Chuang called the Valabhi royal line a Kshatriya dynasty. According to the poet Sodḍhala, Vālabha was derived from Valabhipura. The poet's ancestors served as Dhruvaprabhus in the estates of Sikkarhariya, Vahīrihar, Annapalliya and others in the Laṭa country. The Dhruvas had been the hereditary revenue-collectors since the time of the Valabhi kings. Vishaya or estate was composed of many villages and for each village there was a Dhruva. The officer who was placed at the head of a large number of Dhruvas was called a Dhruva-prabhu and such officers were called 'Vishayapati' in Eastern India. These posts were the monopoly of the Kayasthas in Western India almost in the same way as in Eastern India. The Kshatriya ancestors of the poet Sodḍhala being engaged for generations in the work of revenue collection which was the occupation of a Dhruva afterwards came to be regarded as Kayasthas. Even to-day the title Dhruva may be noticed among the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar and among the Moḍas and other Banias. From the Nagara-Puspanjali and Nagarotpatti we learn that those among the Nagar Brahmins who were engaged in commercial pursuits came to be designated 'Nāgar Banias.' Pandit Harikrishna Sāstri, in his Brahmanotpatti-mārtanda writes that 7450 Nagar Brahmins who lived in Gartātirtha having renounced the sacred thread adopted the trading profession and came to be known as Nagar Banias. Out of them, 2000 went to Pattana, 1400 to Saurashtra, 2000 to Gujarat and the rest to Chitradurga or Chitore. The practice of putting the mark "74½" on the back of letter-cover as warning that none but the addressee should open it originated after

The ancestor of the poet Sodḍhala.

The posts of Dhruvas—a monopoly of Kayasthas.

The Nagar Banias.

7450 Nagar Brahmins had renounced their sacred thread and with it their caste.

The Nagaras are subsequently merged in the various caste-divisions according to occupation.

The above will show how in Western India the vast community of Sapadalaksha, Ahichchh-
 atra or Nagar Brahmins underwent a process of disintegration and were in course of time merged in the caste of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Kayasthas or Banias according to the nature of the occupation pursued by its members. I have shown in the next chapter by a comparison of the respective gotras and surnames of the Kayasthas and Vaidyas of Bengal how some of the Nagar Brahmins entered the fold of the Kayastha or Vaidya community. Again the surnames Datta, De (Deva), Dasa, Kar, Nag, Bhati, Dam (Dama), Chandra, Adhya, Sil, Pal, Nath, Nandi, Vardhan, Sen, Kunda etc. and the gotras Alamyana, Bharadvaja, Kasyapa, Krishnatreya, Maudgalya, Savarnya, Sandilya etc. obtaining among the Gandhavaniks, Suvarnavaniks, Sankhavaniks and Kanḡavaniks lead one to think that the blood of the Nagar Brahmins flows in the veins of some of the families belonging to those castes just as the Nagar Banias in Gujarat can claim kinship with Nagar Brahmins. We even find that the Nagar Brahmins of Siddhapur who were connected with the principal branch of the Nagar Brahmins in Gujarat were converted to Islam for fear of the persecution of the Muhammadans. Their descendants are now known as Boras. Similar conversion of the Nagar Brahmins in Eastern India took place in the Districts of Sylhet and Bankura. Those who tried to preserve their customs and usages and keep their position intact, being persecuted by the Rāqhiya and Vārendra Brahmana community, and afterwards by the Muhammadan rulers, adopted Muhammadanism which

Nagars who were converted to Islam,

was the state-religion of the neighbouring territories. But though converted to Muhammadan religion those who resided in Sylhet and its neighbourhood, and near Bishnupur (Bankura) retained to a certain extent the distinctive features of their community. It is remarkable that the alphabet which they adopt when writing their books on subjects connected with the Muhammadan religion is Nagari though the language used is Bengali. This alphabet is known as Sylhet Nagari and Musalman-Nāgari. The following is an extract from my presidential speech read in the Bengali section of The All India Oriental Conference (held at Patna, 1930), which contains my views on the subject of Musalman Nagari:—

The Nagari
alphabet.

The
Musalman
Nagari."

"The Bengali Mss. to which we have referred are all written in Bengali characters. The Bengali script is not of recent growth. It is even mentioned in the Lalita Vistara. It is, therefore, curious that in the districts of Sylhet and Bankura situated at the eastern and western extremities of Bengal a form of Nāgari script is used by members of the orthodox Muhammadan community. This is known as Sylhet Nagari in eastern Bengal and Musalman Nagari in western Bengal. Musalmani Kechchhas are printed at Calcutta from types adapted from the characters of the Sylhet Nagari. We have long known of the existence of books written in Sylhet Nagari. Recently I have collected near Bishnupur in the district of Bankura seven Mss. all written by Muhammadans which are from 90 to 200 years old. Though the characters used are Nagari their language is Bengali and the metrical form used is 'payār.'

Hundreds of Mss. written in Bengali and Persian characters have come down to us. The

question, therefore, arises why in Sylhet and in certain district in Western Bengal, the characters used in writing books in the Bengali language should be Nagari instead of the popular Bengali or Persian ?

In an article on the origin of Nagari script written about 36 years ago, I have shown that there are Nagara Brahmins in many provinces in India. Though they adopt the language of the place in which they happen to reside, they invariably use Nagari characters when writing books. Even in the distant Deccan and the Karnatic they have got this characteristic also. What marks them out is their script. The Nagari is named after them. From the above it may be concluded that the religious books written in Nagari characters by the Mahomedans were the contributions of the Nagara Brahmins who had now been converted to Islam. Among those Nagara Brahmanas who accepting the Buddhist creed still retained their identity and their family surnames of Ghosha, Mitra etc, there were many who in their role of Buddhist masters wrote authoritative Tantrik works and the evidence of this is still to be found in the Tibetan Btsangur. On the other hand those Nagara Brahmins who had remained within the fold of Hinduism were compelled to renounce their religion in favour of Islam, through threat of persecution either at the hands of the regenerated Brahmin society or from the Muhammadans. Though they had to give up their old religion they could not break away from their time-honoured customs and habits. Hence we still find them retaining the old Nagari characters in writing out books.

Formerly, the Sylhet Nagari was confined to the district of Sylhet only and its immediate

neighbourhood. Fifty years ago Munshi Abdul Karim, an inhabitant of Sylhet returning from Europe constructed the Nagari types after having revised the alphabet on the European model by rejecting many of its letters. These are the types from which the Musalmani books are now printed. I have not yet come across any Mss written in the old Sylhet Nagari. I have however, got information as to the existence of Nagari Mss in the houses of wealthy Muhamedans of Bishnupur subdivision, Western Bengal. Though they use the Bengali alphabet for all other purposes, the scriptures which they privately study are all written in Nagari characters. I have been told that Mss written in Nagari characters can be collected in large numbers from Bishnupur subdivision if a thorough search is made for them in right earnest. Some time ago, I secured seven such Mss only. Though the writing of these bears a strong resemblance to the Sylhet Nagari, the letters used in them are larger in number and have a close affinity to Devanagari.

The characters which accompanied the Buddhist masters when they travelled to Tibet from this country and in which the scriptures were written are still in existence being known as the Bhoṭa or Tibbetan Alphabet. In our opinion the alphabet which once distinguished the Nagara Brahmanas is being still used by their Muhamemmdan descendants, when writing on religious subjects. Hence it differs in many points from the modern Nagari. Under the patronage of the Government organised efforts are now being made to collect Bengali Mss, but scarcely any endeavour has been made to recover the Bengali Nagari Mss from the districts of Sylhet and Bankura. It is essential that there should have a proper history of those Muhamma-

dans, who use the Nāgari characters in writing their scriptures in Bengali and every effort should be made to collect the Nāgari Mss for the purpose. This would no doubt illuminate many an obscure chapter in the social, religious and ethnic history of Bengal.”*

Just as with the growth of the influence of the Rāḍhiya and Varendra Brāhmanas who enjoyed the patronage of the Sena kings, the Satsati Brahmanas of Rāḍha had gradually been merged in the community of the Rāḍhiya Brahmins hailing from Kanauja, a large number of the Nagar Brahmins in Eastern India likewise freely mixed with the members of the Vaidika or the Rāḍhiya and the Varendra communities until their identity was all but completely forgotten. For the remnant of this great Brahmin community we should now look to sections of Brāhmins among the Vaidikas of Kamarupa and Sylhet, among Paschatya Vaidikas of East Bengal, the Dākshinatya Vaidikas of South Bengal and the Vaidikas of Orissa.

Remnants of
the great
Nagar
community,
among the
Vaidikas of
Bengal.

Though most of the surnames which were in vogue among the Nagar Brahmins have disappeared or are no longer in use, the following surnames and gotras are still found among the classes of Brahmins specified above :—

Among the Dākshinatya Vaidikas of Bengal the surnames are Kara, Kaḍe, Deva, Dhara, Nandi, Pati, Paṭhaka, Pānde, Posa, Poḍa, Bhadra, Misra, Vediti, Vaidya, Upādhyāya, and Udgātā ; the gotras are—Agastya, Upamanyu, Kāṇvāyana, Kāsyapa, Kuṣika, Kausika, Krishṇātreyā, Ghritakaṣika, Gargya, Gautama, Jātukaṇṇa, Bharaḍvāja, Bhrigu, Maitrāyana, Vatsya, and Sāṅgilya.

Among the Vaidikas of Midnapore—the

* *Vide* Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1930, 24th December, p. 14.

surnames are Āchārya, Chakravarti, Kara, Dhara, Nanda, Nandi, Dāsa, Tripathi, Pati, Pahaḍi and Ratha and the gotras are Bharadvāja, Gauṭama, Atreya and Kāśyapa.

Among the Vaidikas of Orissa the gotras are Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atreya, Kāśyapa, Kausika, and Mudgala and the surnames are Kara, Dhara, Ratha, Nandi, Dāsa, Pati, Dhara, Pāni and Pāṭhaka.

It is said that among the Pāśchatya Vaidikas in Sylhet and Eastern Bengal also, such surnames existed at one time. A few families use them privately, but most of them have discontinued mentioning them in public or even among themselves.

At present among the Vaidikas or the Sampradāyika Brahmins of Sylhet the gotras used are Vatsa, Vatsya, Bharadvāja, Krishṇatreya, Parāsara, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Maudgalya, Svarṇakausika and Gautama; and among the Pāśchatya Vaidikas of Eastern Bengal the following 32 gotras—Agnivesya, Atathya, Ātreya, Ālāmyana, Utathya, Upamanyu, Uttamāśya, Kasyapa, Kuśika, Kausika, Krishṇatreya, Kaundinya, Garga, Gautama, Ghritakausika, Jatukarna, Parāsara, Panini, Pautimāśya, Bharadvāja, Bhārgava, Bhrigu, Maitrayana, Maunjarishi, Mandavya, Rathitara, Vāsistha, Vatsya, Visvāmītra, Vaisampāyana, Sāndilya, and Sankarshana are in use.

The above mentioned Vaidika Brāhmins lived at one time in large numbers throughout Eastern India. It is stated in the genealogical records of the Brahmins that before the arrival of the five famous ancestors of the Rāḍhiya and Varendra Brahmins there flourished at the court of Ādiśura, Brahmins belonging to the five gotras of Svarṇakausika, Rajatakausika, Kau-

ḍinyaḥausika, Ghritaḥausika and Kausika, There is no doubt that they were the descendants of the Nagar Brahmins. It may be asked why Adisura was so anxious to bring Brahmins from Kanauj when there were Vaidika Brahmins in his Kingdom? The reference to a large section of such Brahmins who were versed in the Vedas and whose function was the performance of sacrificial rites mentioned in old copper-plate inscriptions has led many scholars to think that the story related in genealogies that Adisura invited five Brahmins from Kanauj, learned in the Vedas, is a pure myth. I do not subscribe to this view. The land of Gauḍa, had from very early times, been inhabited by Vaidika Brāhmins versed in the Vedic Sāstras and were often invited on various occasions by Kings from distant places either as a mark of royal patronage or at the request of their relations and kinsmen. Elsewhere, I have shown that the Saka King of Anarta, when on a pilgrimage, to this country took with him at the request of his wife who was a daughter of the King of Chandrapura a number of Brahmins and made them settle in his own territory in Gujaraṭ. From Kulapañji of the Varendra Brāhmins we learn, that it was at the request of his beloved wife who was a daughter of the prince of Kanauj that Adisura brought five Sāgnika Brahmins from that place. Further a study of copper-plate inscriptions and also of the genealogical records of the Pāschatya Vaidika I have arrived at the conclusion that in a similar way Samalavarmā, the grandson of the Chedi Emperor Karnadeva brought some Vaidika Brahmins from Kuntala or Karnāvati who were

dependents of his grandfather and settled in Eastern Bengal. It is their descendants who are now known as Panchagotra and are the most honoured of the Pāschātya Vaidikas. Although the descendants of the earlier Vaidika inhabitants of this country are separately designated as Shashṭha-gotra, the Shashṭha-gotra and the Pancha gotra have been connected by matrimonial ties. Needless to say that the best blood of the Dākshinatya Vaidikas of Kuntala (Deccan) has freely mingled with the blood of the Paschatya Vaidika of Karṇāvatī. The Dakshinatya or the Pāschātya Vaidikas have been employed in the past in the performance of Vedic rituals such as the Vrishotsarga Srāddha. This is the case even at the present day and such Brahmins exist all over Bengal, though at the time of Mahārāja Pratapāditya, a number of Vaidika families came from Orissa and being admitted in to the community of the Dākshinatya Vaidikas was regarded as Kulinas. The Dakshinatya Vaidikas in Bengal are, as I have stated before, a very ancient community. In the 'Vallāla-Charita' we find that Vallāla Sena granted the village of Kāsāra to the Dākshinatya Vaidikas. There is a tradition among the Dakshinatya Vaidikas of Rajpur (South Bengal) that Anantarāma Kanṭhābharana left Gauḍa fearing persecution at the hands of Bakhtyar Khilji. His descendants who are the respected Dharas of Rajpur belong to the Ghrītakauṣika gotra. The Rāḍhiya and Varendra Brahmins who came from Kanauj soon gave up the Vedic practices in favour of Tantrikism. The leading Tantrikas amongst them were admitted to Kulinism by the king Vallāla Sena. But as the Dakshinatya and Pāschātya Vaidika Brahmins had not as yet accepted the tantrik culture

Dakshinatya
and
Pāschātya
Vaidika
vs
Rāḍhiya &
Varendra-
Brahmans.

they were denied access to the new rank of Vallāla. That they up till then strictly adhered to the vedic rituals is indicated by Halayudha who was a Justice of the Peace under king Lakshmaṇa Sena in his book Brāhmaṇa-

• “মহুনা বেদোহ্মেতবা ইত্যেনে বৈদার্থজ্ঞানপরাশুখ-
ব্রাহ্মণস্ত শূদ্রত্বমেব প্রতিপাদিতং । অত্র চ কলৌ আয়ুঃপ্রজ্ঞোৎ-
সাহস্রছাদীনা-মল্লভাৎ তত্শংকল-প্রাশ্চাত্যাদিভির্বেদাধ্যয়নমাত্রং
ক্রিয়তে । বাটীয়-বাবেদ্বৈজ্ঞ অধ্যয়নং বিনা ক্রিয়দেব বৈদার্থস্ত
কৰ্ম্মমীমাংসাদ্বাৰেণ যশ্চেতিকৰ্ত্তব্যতাৰিচাৰঃ ক্রিয়তে । ন
চৈতেনাপি মন্ত্ৰার্থকবৈদার্থজ্ঞানং .”

(Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva).

Chapter III

THE GAUDIYA AND KĀMARUPI KAYASTHAS AND THEIR ORIGIN

At an early stage of social organisation in India different castes were formed according to the qualifications and occupations of the individuals. Within the fold of each of them various distinct communities sprang up. Thus originated the castes such as the Brāhmans, the Kshatriyas and others out of which arose in course of time various other communities or subcastes. Those who for generations served under the government being entrusted with the collection and administration of revenue which is the most important function of government, and were employed in keeping court-records and accounts of all kinds, crystallised in course of time into an independent Kayastha caste like the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas. Just as the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes were not formed in a day, but were the outcome of ages so the Kayasthas as a caste have had a long period of evolution. The Vedas and the Purāṇas are replete with instances of high caste persons being degraded to lower caste by reason of *Guna* and *Karma* and *vice versa*. The same principle which was universally observed in ancient India was at work in the evolution of the Kayastha community. It is very difficult to say when this community came into being. In Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu and Vrihat-Parāśara Smritis we come across the word '*Kayastha*.' Some antiquarians are of opi-

Kayastha—a
Castername
and not
merely an
occupational
name.

The word
'Kayastha'
occurring
in Yajña-
valkya and
Mrichchha-
katika.

nion that this word is to be interpreted as designating occupation rather than a caste*. But if we study carefully the various commentaries, it would appear that the word was really used as a caste-name. Everywhere in India, hereditary occupations have led to the growth of separate castes. Whenever, therefore, the word Kāyastha is used without a separate caste being mentioned we should be justified in holding it as a distinctive caste-name. The Smritis which have been mentioned above, though looked upon by orthodox Brahman scholars as of a very remote origin are not so regarded by antiquarians. In the drama 'Mrichchhakatika' (the date of which should be according to modern scholars in the 1st century A. D.) the word 'Kayastha' has been used on three occasions, (the entrance of the Kāyastha' with the Judge and Sres̥ṭhi in the court of law and the mention of 'Kayastha' in the speech of Vidushaka in the 5th scene and of Chārudatta in the 9th scene). The speech of Vidushaka in the 5th scene would make one think of Yājñavalkya. We may, therefore, draw the inference that the author of Mrichchhakatika has put Yajñavalkya's dictions in the mouth of Vidushaka in a Prakrita form. Students of the Smriti Literature are aware of the fact that though the Manusmṛiti, now extant, has no agreement with the texts of Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra, there is a good deal of semblance between Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra and the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti. From this we may conclude that Yajñavalkya Smṛiti in its main outline is at least 2,000 years old. Consequently, the origin of the Kayastha caste goes back to some date earlier than 2,000 years hence*

* In the drama Mrichchhakatika there occur the following words in the 9th scene—"ভতঃ প্রবিশতি কায়স্থঃ।"

Gauḍa and Vanga was a very ancient stronghold of the Kayasthas. About 350 years ago, Abul Fazl wrote in his famous Ain-i-Akbari that previous to the Muhammadan conquest, Bengal had been under the Kayastha rule for 2038 years. Taking the date of the Muhammadan conquest as 1199 A. D. when Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar occupied the province we may say that according to Abul Fazl Bengal was ruled by Kayasthas between 839 B.C. and 1199 A.D. Abul Fazl, therefore, includes the Sura, Pala and Sena dynasties among Kayasthas. This famous historian has left brief accounts of the various provinces of contemporary India which were based on materials that he collected while he was at the Delhi Durbar. But he has not spoken of the ascendancy of the Kayasthas in any other place except Bengal. There is no doubt that the list of the rulers of Bengal which he has given was based on the information which the Rajput chief Raja Mansing or Raja Todarmal had collected when in Bengal. Antiquarians attach very little importance to Abul Fazl's statement, but there is no doubt that it was based on some very old traditions.

Abul Fazl's
reference to
Kayastha of
ascendancy
in Bengal.

পৰিতোহিকবৰ্ণকঃ” Enters the Judge surrounded by Sresthis, Kayasthas and others. Immediately follow the greetings of Charudatta “তো অধিকৃতভাঃ বন্তি হংহো নিযুক্তাঃ অপি কুশলং ভবতাং ।” Some are inclined to hold on the strength of the śāstric saying “ব্রাহ্মণং কুশলং পৃচ্ছেৎ কৰ্ত্তব্যকুশলান্ময়ং” that the word ‘কুশল’ in Charudatta’s speech suggests that not only the Judge but also the Sresthis, Kayasthas and Others were addressed as Brahmans. But if we study the contemporary social practice and procedure of the law courts, no such significance can be attached to the expression “কুশল”. Besides, on this occasion, it is apparent that the Brahmin Judge being the most important personage to be addressed the word “কুশল” was used and it applied to him only,

A very characteristic feature of Bengal is her genealogical records. Although hundreds of those records have been eaten up by worms or lost through neglect we can still claim to have in our hands three to four hundred Mss. that enable us to conceive what an enormous bulk of genealogical literature there was in existence 350 years ago, when nobility was adored and family-records handed down as a legacy. The absence of the Mss. that were lost through natural causes or neglect has no doubt constituted a stumbling block to the study of the progressive life of our society, there fortunately remain ancient stone and copperplate inscriptions filling up the gap. Study of these inscriptions will show that the descendants of the royal dynasties who once ruled Bengal, were subsequently merged in the Kayastha community—evidence to this effect is furnished by the *Karikās* of the important Kayastha families. Under these circumstances we cannot regard Abul Fazl's statement as being without any element of truth. Even if we ignore Abul Fazl's testimony, we find the evidence of the ascendancy of the Kayastha in Gauda and Vanga in the five copperplate inscriptions discovered from Damodarpur in North Bengal and the four copperplate inscriptions found at Ghaghrahati in the district of Faridpur which belong to the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. respectively. Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Sastri in his address at an annual meeting of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad observed, 'Between 500 A.D. and 600 A.D. none could obtain even a very small piece of land in a village without the assent of the Kayastha elders and the Kayastha community.'*

M. M. Hara
prasad Sastri
on the
predominance
of the
Kayasthas
in Bengal.

In the Edict of the Emperor Aśoka the word "Lajuka" (Sk. Rājuka) sometimes occurs. Discussing these inscriptions Dr. Bühler says—"Lajuka i.e. Lajjuka, was an old name of the writer-caste which is later called Divira (Dabir) or Kayasthas and that Asoka calls his great administrative officials simply the 'writers' because, they were chiefly taken from that caste."† Elsewhere the same distinguished scholar writes—"Asokas Rājukas were better scholars than the Karkuns of the British Government offices before the introduction of the European system of education."‡

On the authority quoted above we may say that there was a caste known as "Rājuka" or the writer-caste or the Kayastha before the time of Asoka. The high position and the great influence of these Rājukas or Kayasthas were not confined to a particular locality, as can be gathered from Asoka's inscriptions found at various places—Delhi-Sivalik, Delhi-Meerat, Allahabad, Radhiyā, Mathia, Rampurwa etc. Here we quote the translation of the Asoka's edict by Dr. Bühler :—
 "King Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twenty six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My Lajukas are established (as rulers) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls. I have made them independent in (awarding) both honours and punishments—Why? In order that the Lajukas may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (on them). They will know what gives

The Rājuka
 or the
 Kayasthas
 in the age
 of the
 Mouryas.

† Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. p. 254.

‡ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I. p. 17.

happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,—how? That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the Lajukas are eager to serve me. My (other) servants also, who know my will serve (me) and they too will exhort some (men), in order that the Lajukas may strive to gain my favour. For as (a man) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, ‘The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,—even so I have acted with my Lajukas for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the Lajukas independent, in (awarding) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable :—What? That there may be equity in official business and equity in the award of punishments.”§

The above edict clearly shows the great position and influence which the Rājukas or Kāyasthas enjoyed during the reign of Asoka. Just as under Asoka's rule the Rajukas held posts of provincial governors and exercised supreme power both in civil (Vyavahara) and criminal (Daṇḍa) courts so did the Uparikas occupy a predominant position in administrative affairs at the time of the Guptas. In all the six charters from Damodarpur and four charters of Ghagrahati, Uparikas with the title Datta have been described as representing the aristocratic class of the Rājukas. When the Uparikas were conducting the administration including management of revenue their relations

were appointed to the subordinate positions in various departments of the government and without their permission Brahmins and persons belonging to other castes could not secure even a *chhatak* of land as has been pointed out by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri. Just as under the Hindu rule it was necessary to report to an *Akshapaṭalika* or *Kāyastha* record-keeper for any settlement of land, so was it essential under the Muhammadan regime to secure the services of the *Kanungos* for such purposes. It is an indisputable fact that this department had been for many ages the monopoly of the *Kāyasthas*. It is because of the absolute authority which the *Kayasthas* exercised from the time of *Asoka* up to the end of the Muhammadan rule in all matters connected with the question of land making them the right-hand men of kings and landlords that the *Smritis* from a very early time contained rules which were designed for the protection of society against their undue influence and unjust persecutions. The words “आलायध्वेषु लज्जकं मप लक्ष्मिं पटिचलितवे” ‘the *Rajukas* are eager to serve me’ in *Asoka’s* edict are echoed in the words of the *Saurapurāṇa’s* “कायस्थः लक्ष्मणशित् नित्यं राज्ञोपसेवकाः” The fact that *Vijñānesvara* in his famous commentary on *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti* calls the *Kāyastha* *Rājā-vallabhā* (dear to the king), *Mayāvi* (affectionate) *Karādhikṛita* “the controller of revenue” and “राजसम्बन्धप्रभविकृतिः” “influential on account of royal patronage” shows that the *Rajukas* or *Kayasthas* were trusted friends and agent of the king. It is on accounts of the contact with the *Rājās* or reigning kings that they were known as “*Rājuka*” “*Rājasthāniya*” “*Rajadhanā*” or “*Rāje*.”

The edict in which the *Rājukas* are mentioned was promulgated in the 26th year of *Asoka’s*

reign before he had been converted to Buddhism. Dr. Bühler says, "I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi Asoka had not yet joined the Buddhists when the Pillar edicts were composed. This conversion to Buddhism fell, as I show in a new discussion of the Sahasram and Rupnath edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of the twenty-seventh year he continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the Jñānamārga or the path of knowledge prescribes for the people in general and which is common to the Brāhman, Jainas and Buddhists."*

It may be supposed that when Asoka entrusted the Rājukas with the duty of protecting and governing his subjects before he was converted to Buddhism he was only observing the usual practice of the Mauryan rulers. If this view is correct, the Rājukas must have been appointed to the posts of provincial governors long before Asoka's reign. Asoka's conversion to Buddhism had brought in a new class of officials called "Dharmamahāmātras" who were recruited from among these Rājukas.† The word, 'Mahāmātra' means the chief-minister. But 'Dharmamahāmātra' was a very exalted office in the department having been constituted for the propagation of religion. The Dharmamahāmātras were often sent to far off countries to carry the message of Buddha. In ancient India only a Brahmin could be appointed to such high positions in religious affairs. According to the Hindu Dharmaśāstras, the king had no right to employ any person other than a Brahmin in any religious functions. When defying this time-honoured

Kayastha
appointed as
Dharma-
mahāmātra.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 246.

† Vincent A. Smith's Asoka (2nd ed.) 1907.

practice, Asoka appointed the Rajukas or Kayasthas as "Dharmamahāmātras", the Brahmins became highly offended. Formerly it was a custom that none but a Brahman could try a Brahman and he was not authorised even to pass severe sentences on a Brahman. But Asoka laid down that every one would be dealt with equally without any consideration being shown for one caste. Asoka's appointment of Rājukas to the posts of Dharmamahāmātra raising them from the status of revenue-officers to that of spiritual guides, naturally perturbed the Brahmans and the bitterest enmity of the Brahman Śāstra-writers provoked. As long as Buddhism was state-religion, the Rājukas did not lose the privilege but continued to be appointed as Dharmadhyakshas. As a result of their hereditary association in an official capacity with the religious affairs of the country which reacted on their mode of life, their habits and conduct naturally became more refined and akin to those of the Brahmans. The descendants of the Buddhist Dharmamahāmātras or chief ministers of public morals, who were actually Kayasthas by caste, came to regard themselves as a superior class. There cannot be any doubt that where Buddhism began to decline and Brahminism reasserted its supremacy the descendants of Dharmamahāmātras gradually identified themselves with the Brahmins and came to be recognised as such either in their own country or in the places to which they subsequently removed. It is these Kayasthas, who have been described in the Saurapurāṇa as লক্ষৰ্ণ having long ears, নিত্যং বাজোপসেবক always waiting upon the king, নক্ষত্রতীৰ্থিক reader of stars, ভিষকশাস্ত্রোপজীবিন্ earning their living as medical practioners.

The enmity
of the
Brahmins.

The fact that Buddha and the Buddhist

Ambashtha
and
Suryadhvaja
Kayasthas.

teachers are represented in old images which have been discovered from various places of India as having long ears proves that the Kayasthas had been the constant attendants of the Buddhist kings even after Asoka's time. Vijnānesvara speaks of Kāyasthas as counters or astrologers and writers. To describe the effects of stars is the professional duty of an astrologer and this has been the occupation of the Suryadhvaja Kayasthas from very early times. The Ambashṭha Kayastha in Behar and the Vaidyas in Bengal who are of the same origin as the Kayasthas, pursue the medical profession. It is a known fact that at one time Buddhist Acharyyas took a great interest in astronomy and medicine. In the Tibetan work 'Btsangur' we find the names of many such Kāyastha Acharyyas. Even now in the North Western Provinces and Behar the customs and usages of some Ambashṭha Kayasthas and of Suryadhvaja Kayasthas are very much like those of Brahmins. Some of them even regard themselves as Brahmins. There is still a tradition that the ancestors of the Gauḍa Bhaṭnāgars who as a community are the outcome of the union of Gauḍa and Bhaṭnagara Srenis descended from the same plate with the Brahmins. Up to this day at Kumbhakonam and other places in the Deccan and in various parts of Assam the religious heads of Satras or monasteries are Kayasthas. It is remarkable that some Kayastha families at a place called Igatpuri in the district of Nasik still claim that they belong to the Brahmin caste. Such claim may also lend support to the theory that Nagara Brahmins and Kayasthas are identical.

I have previously said that among the six principal sections of the Nagara Brahmins, Chitragupta is one. There is no doubt, that

the descendants of Chitrugupta were originally Kayasthas, but owing to their association with the Nāgara Brahmin they came to be classed among them. About this section of the Nāgara Brahmins Mr. J. C. Ghosh writes :—"In the Skandapurāṇa Nāgarakhanda mention is made of one Chitraśarma belonging to the Vatsa-gotra. It was this Chitraśarma who installed the Hāṭakesvara linga at Chamatkārapura, the modern Baḍanagara on the model of the Hāṭakesvara of Pātala. Mahādeva was highly pleased and he granted him a boon that as long as the moon and the stars would remain his sons, grandsons and other descendants would utter his name as the first Vatsa on all occasions of Srāddha and Tarpaṇa. This made the other Nāgara Brahmins envious and each installed a linga on his account. Chitraśarma is probably the same as Chitrugupta and the Chitrugupta section of the Nāgara Brahmanas may have been descended from this Chitraśarma. His name was formerly mentioned at tarpanas, just as Chitrugupta's name is now mentioned or those among the Nāgara Brahmins who were Kayasthas might have been known as the Chitruguptas." * But as elsewhere in the Nāgarakhanda a separate mention is made of Yama's younger brothers Chitrugupta and Vichitra, Chitrugupta and Chitraśarma appear to be different individuals. In the Nāgarakhanda Chitrasarma is mentioned as belonging to the Vatsa gotra. I have said before that members of the Vatsagotra served as ministers of the rulers of Gujarat when it was occupied by the Sakas. After the fall of the Mauryas and with the rise of the Sungas and Kāṇvas, the supremacy of the Brahmins was firmly established. During this period the

Chitrugupta
section of
Nāgara
Brahmin

J. C. Ghosh's
conclusion

Brahmins
of the
Vatsa Gotra.

descendants of the Dharmamahāmātras of the Asoka period whose duties coincided with those of the Brahmins tried by slow means to get themselves recognised as Brāhmans. It is unlikely that the Sakas who were foreigners should be recognised by the Brahmin society as Kshatriyas of the highest order at a time when they were trying to extend their power throughout India and were frequently coming into conflict with the Sunga, Mitra and Kanva Emperors. It is more probable that the new Brahmins admitted the Saka Kshatrapas to the status of the Kshatriyas and with their help succeeded in securing general recognition as genuine Brahmins. Through the efforts of these Brahmins of the Vatsa gotras and the Saka Kshatrapas a large number of Brahmins were settled in Gujarat as is revealed by the contemporary records of the Saka Kshatrapas. The Brahmins of the Vatsa gotra might have at a later period been included in the 'Chitrugupta section.

Some are inclined to think that the importance attached to the name of Chitrugupta in relation to the Kayasthas is a comparatively recent thing. But in fact it is not the case. There is a good deal of materials for the Chitrugupta theory in the Anusāsana parva of the Mahabharata (ch. 130), in Garuḍa-purāṇa (p. 476), Skanda purāṇa Prabhāsakhaṇḍa (ch. 123), Sahyadrikhaṇḍa Renuka-mahātmya (ch. 47), Nāgarakhaṇḍa (ch. 162), Padma-purāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa, Bhavi-shyottara purāṇa Yamadvitiyā Vratākatha and in the Devi-purāṇa (ch. 39). In the Garuḍapurāṇa and Nāgarakhaṇḍa mention is made of Chitra and Vichitra, the younger brothers of Yama. On the other hand, in the oldest genealogical records of the Rāḍhiya and Vangja Kayastha Chitra and Vichitra have been treated as their original ancestors. The inscription of Ananda

Chandra of Chandra dynasty discovered from Arakan by Pandit Hirananda Sastri the date of which is supposed to be the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. contains the names of 19 generations from Bala Chandra I. This dynasty is known as the "Dharmarajanuja-vaṇṣa" i.e., the dynasty of the younger brother of Dharmaraja. As already stated Chitrugupta and his younger brother Vichitra were reputed to be the brothers of Dharmaraja Yama. In view of this fact it may be presumed that members of the Chandra dynasty of Mauranga were Kayasthas who claim descent from the younger brother of Dharmaraja.

Side by side with these powerful Kayasthas there lived, as I have shown before, hundreds of Brahmins having various surnames and denominations derived from the particular branch or section of the four Vedas to which they were specially devoted. Even these Brahmins had to seek the help of Kayasthas when they were desirous of acquiring any lands. The great Brahmin and Kayastha communities had not yet acquired such distinctive name as Gauḍa or Nāgara, but were simply known as Brahmins or Kayasthas. I have already given a list of surnames that were current among the early Brahmins. Below is given a similar list in alphabetical order of surnames numbering 99 which are mentioned in the genealogical records of the Bengal Kayasthas :—

1 Añkura, 2 Apa, 3 Arṇava, 4 Āicha, 5 Āḍhya, 6 Aditya, 7 Āsa, 8 Indu, 9 Indra, 10 Kara, 11 Kirti, 12 Kunda, 13 Kṣama, 14 Kṣa, 15 Khila, 16 Gana, 17 Ganda, 18 Gui, 19 Guna, 20 Gupta, 21 Guha, 22 Golaka, 23 Graha, 24 Ghara, 25 Ghosha, 26 Chanda, 27 Chaki, 28 Chāiṇ, 29 Dhola, 30 Teja, 31 Tosha, 32 Datta, 33 Daḍi, 34 Dānā, 35 Dāma, 36 Dāsa 37

Dāhaka, 39 Dātaka, 39 Deva, 40 Drona, 41 Dhanu, 42 Dhara, 43 Dharani, 44 Nandana, 45 Nandi, 46 Nāi, 47 Naga, 48 Nātha, 49 Nāda, 50 Pāla, 51 Pālita, 52 Pila, 53 Puin, 54 Pai, 55 Brahma, 56 Bhañja, 57 Bhaṭṭa, 58 Bhaṭṭi, 65 Bhadra, 60 Bhujanga, 61 Bhūta, 62 Bhūti, 63 Bhamika, 64 Mana, 65 Māna, 66 Mitra, 67 Yasa, 68 Rakshita, 69 Rañga, 70 Raja, 71 Rāna, 72 Rāha, 73 Rāhuta, 74 Rudra, 75 Lodha, 76 Vandhu, 77 Vardhana, 78 Varma, 79 Vala, 80 Vāṇa, 81 Vindu, 82 Vishnu, 83 Vedaka, 84 Sakti, 85 Sarma, 86 Sāin, 87 Sānak (Sānā) 88 Sila, 89 Sura, 90 Syāma, 91 Sinha, 92 Sumana, 93 Sena, 94 Soma, 95 Smara (Svara), 96 Hati, 97 Hui, 98 Hema, (Homa or om), 99 Hesa.) †

Of the 99 surnames we find Gotras of only 36 surnames :—

<i>Surnames</i>	<i>Gotras</i>
1 Ankura	Bharadvaja, Gautama
2 Aicha	Sandilya
3 Adhya	Sandilya
4 Kara	Alamyana, Gautama, Kasyapa
5 Kuṇḍa	Gautama, Sandilya, Kasyapa, Maudgalya, Bharadvaja
6 Ketu	Sandilya, Gautama
7 Guha	Kasyapa, Kalkisha
8 Ghosha	Saukalina, Sandilya, Vatsya, Gautama*
9 Chanda	Kasyapa, Bharadvaja, Krishnatreya.
10 Chandra	Rohita, Bharadvaja, Kasyapa, Maudgalya*
11 Datta	Maudgalya, Sandilyaj, Bharadvaja, Kasyapa, Vasistha, Agnivesya, Vaiyāghrapadya, Alamyana, Gautama,* Karan or Karnya Kausika,* Krishnatreya*

† Vauger Jatiya Itihasa, Dakshina-Rudhiya, Kayasthakanda, p. 28.

<i>Surnames</i>	<i>Gotra</i>
12 Dāma	Maudgalya, Sandilya,
13 Dāsa	Kasyapa, Maudgalya, Gautama, Atri Krishnatreya, Bharadvaja,* Alambāyana,* Sandilya*
14 Deva	Alamyana, Gautama, Ghritakausika, Parāsara, Bharadvaja, Vasistha, Krishnatreya*
15 Dhara	Jāmadagnya, Gautama, Vaiyā- ghrapadya, Gāndilya, Bharadvaja
16 Nandana	Kasyapa
17 Nandi	Alamyana, Kasyapa, Sandilya
18 Nai	Sāndilya, Bharadvaja
19 Nāga	Saupāyana
20 Nātha	Parasara
21 Pāla	Bharadvaja, Sandilya, Alamyana Kasyapa, Ghritakausika, Maudgalya*
22 Palita	Bharadvaja
23 Bhanja	Jāmadagnya
24 Bhadra	Vātsya
25 Mītra	Visvāmitra
26 Rakshita	Maudgālya
27 Raha	Kasyapa, Sāndilya, Bharadvaja, Maudgalya
28 Laha	Maudgalya, Bharadvaja
29 Varma-Dāsa	Kasyapa*
30 Vasu	Gautama
31 Vishnu	Bharadvaja, Vaiyāghrapadya, Gautama
32 Sinha	Sandilya, Vatsya, Ghritakausika, Bharadvaja, Alamyana, Kasyapa
33 Sila	Sandilya, Agnivesya, Bharadvaja
34 Sara	Sandilya, Maudgalya, Gautama, Vatsya
35 Sena	Alamyana, Vasuki, Sandilya, Dhanvatari
36 Soma	Sandilya, Rohita, Maudgalya, Svarnakausika, Rudra Rishi*

* They are found in Sylhet.

Out of the 99 suranames already mentioned in the Kayastha genealogies of Bengal, gotras in respect of only 36 surnames as shown above are available. Gotras in respect of the remaining 63 surnames are not mentioned. Some of the Gotras of the Gaudīya Kayasthas that are not mentioned in their genealogies are in vogue among the Ambastha Kayasthas of Behar and some others among the Vaidya community of Bengal. In the genealogical records of the Vaidyas there is ample evidence of matrimonial alliances between the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas. I therefore give below a list of surnames and the respective gotras current among the Vaidyas and the Ambashtha Kayasthas—

SURNAMES AND GOTRAS OF THE VAIDYAS
OF BENGAL.

Surnames

Gotras

Sena—Dhanvantari, Saktri, Vaiṣṇanara, Ādya
or Ādyarshi, Āngirasa, Krishnatreya,
Maudgalya, Kausika.

Dāsa—Maudgalya, Bharadvaja, Sālankāyana,
Saṇḍilya, Vasishṭha, Vatsya.

Gupta—Kāsyapa, Gautama, Sāvarni.

Datta—Kausika, Kasyapa, Saṇḍilya, Maudgalya,
Ādya, Ātreya, Krishnatreya.

Deva—Ātreya, Krishnatreya, Saṇḍilya, Alamyānā.

Surnames and Gotras of the Vaidyas (Continued)

Kara—Bharadvaja, Parasara, Vasishtha, Saktri,
Kasyapa, Vatsya, Maudgalya.

Raha—Vatsya, Markandeya, Kasyapa.

Soma—Kausika, Kasyapa

Nandi—Maudgalya

Chandra—Vasistha

Dhara—Kasyapa, Jamadagnya

Kuṇḍa—Bharadvaja

Rakshita—Kasyapa, Bharadvaja

Indra—Kasyapa

Aditya—Aditya, Kausika

SURNAMES AND GOTRAS OF AMBASTHA
KAYASTHAS OF BEHAR.

<i>Surnames</i>	<i>Gotras</i>
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Dhara—Jāmadagnya,	Kāsyapa
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Kara—Bharadvaja,	Parasara
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Nandi—Gautama,	Bharadvaja
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Datta—Sandilya,	Kasyapa, Bharadvaja
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Sena—Kausika,	Maudgalya
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Naga—Sāvarni	
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Sinha—Bharadvaja	
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Dāsa—Kāsyapa,	
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Let us now see if there is any agreement
between the gotras of the Brahmans in respect

of a particular surname with the gotras relating to the corresponding Kayastha surname.

In regard to the above mentioned 99 surnames both the Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhiya and Vangaja genealogical records make the following statement :—

“সর্বৈব নবাধিকনবতিপদ্ধতিঃ ॥ এতেষাং পুৰোহিত-গোত্রপ্রববাঃ গোত্র প্রববাঃ ।” The gotras and pravaras of each of the aforesaid 99 *Padavis* have been derived from those of the priests.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar remarks—“It is true that the Nidhanpur plates which contain the above names were found in the Sylhet district, which falls under Assam. But linguistically and culturally Sylhet forms an integral part of Bengal, so the Brahman donees who bear Kayastha surnames must be taken as settled in Bengal.” (1) “It thus seems natural to hold that the Bengal Kayasthas were originally none but these Nagar Brahmanas” (2).

Now if it were true that the Nagar Brahmanas were the ancestors of the Kayasthas or if they were the hereditary priests, how are we to explain the absence of any agreement between their respective surnames and gotras.

Dr. Bhandarkar's theory untenable

The few surnames and gotras which are in common between the Kayasthas and the Eastern Nāgars are given below :—

Datta—(Among Eastern Nagars)—Bharadvaja, Parāsara, Kasyapa and Vasistha,
(Among the Gurjara Nagars)—
Parasara, Kasyapa, Agnivesya.

Deva—(Eastern Nagars)—Gautama, Bharadvaja

Dhara— " Kasyapa

Naga— " Savarni

Soma— " Maudgalya

In addition to the above, the surname ‘Kara’ and its gotra Bharadvaja, held by the Vaidikas in Orissa are also in vogue among the Ambastha

(1) Indian Antiquary, 1932 (March) p. 45.

(2) Indian Antiquary, 1932 (March) p. 52.

Kayasthas and the Vaidyas. We, therefore, get only 6 surnames in common out of a total of 99 surnames which are current among the Kayasthas. Such agreement seems insufficient to justify the view that the vast community of the Kayasthas and the eastern Nagars were not different ; and from historical standpoint they were not one and the same. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's theory that Nagar Brahmans were the ancestors of the modern Kayasthas can apply, if at all, only in the case of those who hold to the gotras that are peculiar to the surnames of Datta, Deva, Dhara, Nága and Soma. The surnames borne by the eastern Nagars who have been mentioned in the Karatoya-māhātmya as Sapādalaksha and in the copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa as Ahichchhatra testify to their importance. The 99 surnames and the various gotras under each of them which the Kayasthas of Eastern India point to the conclusion that their society was even more numerous than that of the Nagars.

When for 35 out of the 99 surnames we have more than 100 gotras, and since a gotra denotes a separate home or family it is not unreasonable to infer that if the gotras for the remaining 64 surnames be taken into account, there must have been upwards of 200 separate groups of Kayastha in Gauḍa. Some may think that as according to the genealogical records of the Kayasthas, their surnames and gotra-pravaras were derived from those of their hereditary priests, it might have happened that with the change of the priest, the gotra of the particular family under his charge had also changed to that of his successor and in this way one family might have acquired more than one gotra. But it is remembered that the Bhauma

dynasty of Kāmarupa alone had held the surnames of Datta, Varma, Stambha, Pāla, Deva, Kara, Tunga, Gupta e.t.c. It may not seem unlikely that such change of surnames occurred in respect of the Kayastha community. But as a matter of fact there is no evidence as to changes in *Amusyayana* or the distinctive family titles of the Kayasthas such as Vasu, Ghoshā, Mitra etc. or in the respective gotras. There is, therefore, no ground for the view that the majority of the Sapādaksha or the eastern Nagar Brahmins became Kayasthas.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has concluded that the Kāyasthas were not formed into a caste before the 9th century A. D., and that the term Kāyasthas only meant Government-officials who were generally recruited from the Brahmanas. He has in this connexion instanced the case of Kashmir. While appreciating the learned investigation of Dr. Bhandarkar, I cannot help differing from him on certain points. That there existed a separate Kayastha community long before the 9th century is amply evident from Vainya Gupta's Gunaighar (Tipperah) copper-plate (3), also from the account of Udayasundari Katha by Soddhala, the Ghaghrahāti plates, and the Arakan inscriptions. Maharaja Vainya Gupta's charter was issued in the year 188 of the Gupta era (506-507 A.D.). In this charter we find the names of his vassals, Maharaja Rudra Datta, Mahasamanta Vijaya Sena and the Karana Kayastha Nara Datta who was his minister for peace and war. The distinctive denomination "Karana Kayastha" occurring in the charter leaves no room for doubt that the Kayasthas existed as a separate community at the time

The Kayasthas existed as a caste long before the 9th century

it was issued. The distinguished scholar Justice Pargiter makes the following comments on the word 'Karanikas' with reference to its use in the 3 copper-plate grants of Ghaghrahati :—

"A caste-name 'Karanika' is not classical Sanskrit, but evidently a word formed from 'Karana'; it was the name of a caste that had the occupation of writing accounts, e.t.c.; hence Karanika apparently meant a member of this caste. This caste was presumably either the same as, or closely akin to, the Kayastha caste. The position of senior member of the Board was in grants B and C, held by the then oldest Kayastha named Nayasena. As the grant is later than those, it is worthy of note that whereas the modern name Kayastha is mentioned in B and C, the name used in this later grant is Karanika, a title which is not used now; hence when a person's caste is mentioned the surname is sometimes omitted, as in the case of the Karanika, for, while one is named Naya Nāga (Nāg is another modern surname), the other is called simply Kesava (1.15). It seems a fair inference that the second parts of these names were established caste-surnames at the time of this inscription." (4)

Dr Pargiter's
comment on
the word
"karanika"

We find mention of such Kayastha surnames as Datta Mitra, Pāla, Dāsa, Nandi, Bhadra, Varma, Mitra, Ghosha, Sena, Kunda, Naga, Palita, Chandra, Bhoga, Bhatti, e.t.c., in the 5 copper-plates of Damodarpur inscribed in the 5th century and the 4 copper-plates of Ghaghrahati inscribed in the 6th century A. D. In the charters of the Bhauma Kings, the name of the 'gotra' or 'veda' or the word 'Svāmi' or 'Bhaṭṭa' is affixed to such

surnames to distinguish the donees from non-Brahmins. But where such indications are wanting the surnames—Ghosha, Mitra, etc., refer in most cases to Kayastha. Such phrases as “Prathama Kayastha”, which also occur, leave no room for doubt that the surnames were held by Kayasthas. Now can it be possible to maintain that the Brahmans having the surnames mentioned in the Nidhanpur charter afterwards became Kayasthas at an earlier date? Like Dr. Bhandarkar, Pandit Raghubar Mitthulal Sastri, the editor of “Kayastha Samachar” has attempted to prove by drawing attention to Kayastha royal officers in the works of the poets and historians of Kashmir, viz., Kalhana, Kshemendra, Somadeva, and Prājyabhaṭṭa that these Kayasthas whose number was quite considerable were in fact Brahmans.

The argu-
ment of
pandit
Raghubar
Mithull.

The following couplet in Rajatarangini has been cited by both the scholars as the principal authority in support of this view :—

“তদন্তবে শিববধঃ দ্বিজঃ প্রচুবচক্রিকঃ ।

কায়স্থপাশপাশেন গগন বন্ধা ব্যপত্তত ॥”

Dr. Bhandarkar has rendered the above in English as follows :—

“In the meanwhile there died by strangulation that rogue (pasa) of a Kayastha, the Brahman Sivaratha, who had been a mighty intriguer.” (5)

On the strength of this, he remarks, “This passage unmistakably shows that some of the Kayasthas of the Rajatarangini were Brahmans.” Referring to a passage in Kshemendra’s “Narmamala” (1.108-113) as his second authority Pandit Raghubar Sastri says, “The following things in the camp luggage of a Kayastha

show that he used to be a Brahmana by caste, as they are needed in the daily Agnihotra and worship of a Saiva Brahman.—Tamrakunda, Sruk and Sruva, Aksasutra, Snānasatīka, Padukas, Mantrapustikā and Stotra-mantra, Nakshatra-patrika (Almanac), Gangamrid, Bilva leaves, and Pavitra Sutraka (the sacred-thread),” (6)

In the first and second volumes of this book I have shown in length how the ancestors of the Kayastha aristocracy of Kamarupa originally belonging to Gauda or Vanga, became a power then and how their descendants, although losing to a great extent their political power have to this day retained a position of honour in the sphere of religion similar to that enjoyed by the Brahman. In the previous chapter (7) a large mass of materials on the subject of the establishment of the Nagar Brahmins in Kamarup under the patronage of the Kings has been set forth, but excepting some agreement in respect of surnames, we have got nothing to prove any connexion between these Nāgar Brahmins and Kayasthas. There is no tradition even among the Kayastha aristocracy of Gauda or their kinsmen the Kayasthas of Kamarupa, nor is there any testimony in the genealogies to the effect that there ever existed between them and the Nagar Brahmins or the Brahmins in general any caste link. Rather, the traditions current among them for generations and their genealogical records testify to their affiliation with the Kshatriyas and support the Chitrakṛti theory as to their origin. In no ancient record have Kayasthas, as such, been definitely referred to as Brahmins. Dr Bhandarkar and

The word
Dvijā does
not prove
Brahmin
ancestors

(6) *Man in India*, Vol. XI, No 2, p. 146.

(7) *Ibid* p. 86 ff.

Sastri have both taken the term—"Dvija" used in *Rajatarangini* in reference to Sivaratha as synonymous with 'Brahman', but the word "Dvija" alone does not prove Brahminic antecedents. In the *Nagarakhanda* of *Skandapurana* which gives an account of the *Nāgara Brahmanas*, *Brahmanas*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas* who strictly perform the rites enjoined by their religion, have been described irrespective of their caste as the 'best of Dvijas'. (8) The articles which are mentioned in the "Narmamala" as accompanying a *Kayastha* and which according to Professor Sastri prove his identity with the *Brahman* are, undoubtedly also, essential to an orthodox *Kshatriya*, as it can be gathered by one who has studied the customs and habits of the *Pandavas* in the *Mahabharata*. These articles are even now found in Bengal and Midnapore among the orthodox *Rajput* families. In these circumstances, the theory that the *Kayasthas* mentioned by *Kalhana* and *Kshemendra* were *Brahmins* falls to the ground. *Pandit Sankar Panduranga* in his "Introduction to the *Gauḍavaho*" has spoken of the *Kashmir Kayasthas* of the *Rajatarngini* as 'Vaisya', but this view also does not appear to be correct. *Dr. Bhandarkar* writes, "Nor does there seem to be any force in the argument of the Bengal *Kayastha* that they are *Kshatriyas*. Their argument like that of the Bombay *Kayasthas* is based upon a mere legend about *Chitrugupta* or *Chandrasena* and not upon any epigraphic or ethnological evidence." (9) But *Soddhala*, a *Valabha Kayastha*

(8) ব্রহ্মবতঃ কতঃ শ্রেষ্ঠত্বম্ভোঃ সর্গঃ দ্বিযোত্তমঃ।

ব্রাহ্মণঃ কতিয়ো বৈশ্বঃ স্তুতিশাস্ত্রপাঠকৈঃ।"

Nagara-Khanda, Chap. 162.

(9) *Indian Antiquary*, 1932, p. 57.

from whose "Udayasundarī-Kathā" he has drawn his material about the Vālabha Kayasthas, prides himself on being a descendant of Kaladitya, brother of the Valabhi King Siladitya, a Kshatriya. If the testimony of Soddhala is accepted, it would appear that a separate branch of the Kayasthas called the Vālabhas came into existence at least as early as the 7th or 8th century when Siladitya flourished. The name Vālabha was probably adopted to distinguish them from the other branches of the Kayastha community so that their integrity might be preserved. The Vālabha group of Kayasthas has been variously designated as "Vālam", "Vālamya" or "Valmika Kayasthas". From the stock of these Vālabha Kayasthas originated the class called the Dhruvaprabhus. The Valmika Kayasthas also claim descent from Chitragupta. As in Western India, from the 7th or 8th century, the Vālabha Kayasthas regarded themselves as an offshoot of the Kshatriya community, so did the high-class Kayasthas in Eastern India even before the 11th century. As I have shown in the second volume, Thākur Sridhara Dāsa, a great Kayastha, who was the minister of Nānyadeva, the King of Mithila styled himself "Kshatravaṇsābjabhānu" or "the effulgent sun among the lotus-like Kshatriya Community", in the inscription engraved at the foot of the image of Vishnu installed by him in the village of Andhraṭhāri in Mithila. (10) The descendants of this Kshatriya Kayastha Sridhara Dāsa are still respected as Kulinas in the Kayastha community of Mithila; in Gauḍa and Kamarupa too his descendants and kinsmen held a place of honour in society. Nānyadeva, the king of Mithila, lived in the

The
evidence as
to the affi-
liation of
Kayasthas
with
Kshatriyas

eleventh century A. D. It may be presumed therefore that even before this time the high class Kayasthas of Eastern India regarded themselves as a branch of the Kshatriyas, otherwise Sridhara Dāsa could not have ventured to style himself a Kshatriya. The Pālas and Senas are treated as Kayasthas in the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl, these, however style themselves Kshatriyas or Brahma Kshatriyas in their copper-plate inscriptions. We even find specific instances of matrimonial relationship between the Sena king of Gauḍa and Kayastha families. (11) In the above circumstances, Dr. Bhandarkar's view seems to be untenable. What is actually found is that in Western India between the 7th and 11th centuries and in Eastern India from the eleventh century the Kayasthas were known to be a section of the Kshatriya community. The descendants of Sridhara Dasa and those of his kinsmen in Mithila, Kamarupa and Gauḍa as well as the Valmika Kayasthas in Western India are up to this day known as the descendants of Chitragupta. Now the question arises whether there is any such contemporary historical evidence in support of the Chitragupta theory as has been found proving the connexion of the Kayasthas with the Kshatriyas. I have to refer here to the Chandra dynasty of Arakan. The last king of this dynasty was Ananda Chandra who lived about 1100 A. D. The names of his 19 ancestors are available. If three generations are taken as covering a century, the date of Bala Chandra, the first king of this dynasty is to be placed in the 7th century A. D. In the inscription of the said Ananda Chandra who was a descendant of Bala Chandra

The date of
the
Chitragupta
theory

Chandra
dynasty of
Arakan

there occurs the following—"Ananda Chandra was as generous as Karna, as truthful as Yudhisthira, as beautiful as Cupid and as bright as the sun. As by founding many Buddhist monasteries he demonstrated his attachment to the Buddhist religion, so he acquired fame by settling 50 Brahmans in his realm." He was named the Lord of Tāmrapattana. One of his feudatory chiefs gave his daughter to the king Ananda Chandra and with her the town "Sripattana." (12) In my opinion Sripattana is the same as Srihaṭṭapattana. The Tibetan historian of Buddhism Taranath has mentioned one Bala Chandra among the 19 kings of the Chandra dynasty. This Bāla Chandra quitted his kingdom of Bengal and fled to Tirhut. His son recovered the lost kingdom of his father and extended his conquests up to Kamarupa. The rule of the dynasty came to an end with his grandson Lalita Chandra and the occupation of the throne by Gopala with the help of the populace. It seems to me that this Chandra dynasty after having lost the Kingdom of Bengal ruled in Arakan which was the Eastern out-post of their territories. In the inscription of Ananda Chandra, this Buddhist royal dynasty who were devoted to Brahminism have been called the 'Dharmarājānuja-vaṅsa' or dynasty of the younger brother of Dharmaraja. Needless to say, in the old Smritis and Puranas, Dharmaraja is only another name of Yama. Now who is the younger brother of Yama? In the Garuḍa Purana, it is said that out of the sun came forth Yama with Chitrugupta, (13) Elsewhere in this Purana we come across the following—

(12), Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1925-26, p, 146-149.

(13) Garuda-Purana, (Bangabasi Ed, p. 476.)

"In the region of Yama, there is Chitrānagara where there is the King Vichitra. He is the offspring of the sun and the younger brother of Yama." (14) In the *Nāgarakhanda* of the *Skandapurāna*, Chap. 162, it is stated that *Kayastha* is the offspring of Yama. In Chap 226, we hear of Chitra and Vichitra being known in the region of Yama as *Kayastha*, and there is a reference to the 8 messengers of Yama who were his offspring. There is also mention of Chitra and Vichitra in the *Padmapurāna*. In the *tarpana-mantra* or the hymn for the salvation of the dead, *Chitrāgupta* is counted as one among the fourteen *Yamas*. In the statement in the *Nāgarakhanda*—"Kayasthas is the offspring of Yama" should in the circumstance be understood to refer to *Chitrāgupta*. *Garudapurāna* lends support to the view. In the genealogical records of the *Dakṣiṇa Rājhiya Kayasthas* too the names of Chitra and Vichitra are mentioned as contributing to the growth of the *Kayastha* community. (15) The origin of the *Chandra* dynasty have been attributed to Vichitra the younger brother of *Dharmarāja*. The home of the original *Chandra* dynasty has been assigned to the village *Panihati* in *Rājha*. From this *Panihati* the *Chandras* went to *Chandradvīpa* and established their rule there. (15) A branch of this *Chandra* dynasty must have gone to *Arakan* where they were known as the dynasty of the younger brother of *Dharmarāja*. When all the above evidence is taken into account "*Chitrāgupta theory*" cannot be dismissed as a mere legend.

(14) *Garuda Purāna*, (Bangavasi Ed.) p. 422.

(15) *Kayastha Kānda Part VI (Dakṣinārādhiya Kayastha Vivaraṇa)* P. 27.

In the Vrihadaranyaka Upanishad, Yama is described as a Deva Kshatriya. In the Devipurana (16) and the "Naisadha Charita" of Sriharsha, Chitrugupta has been represented as a Deva Kshatriya. In the Kathasaritsagara of Somadeva (17) who lived before Kalhana Chitrugupta appears as a Kayastha. In view of all this old evidence, we cannot lightly set aside the belief that Chitrugupta was a Kshatriya. There is a detailed account in the Garuḍapurana regarding Chitra and Vichitra, the younger brother of Dharmarāja and their Kayastha descendants. On a discussion of the genealogical portion of the Garuḍapurana, the date of this Purana has been fixed as the 1st or the 2nd century A. D. (18) The allusion to the dynasty of the younger brother of Dharmaraja in the inscription of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan also points to the historical basis of the Garuḍapurana.

The reading of the text of the copper-plate inscription of Vainya Gupta as 'Sandhivigrahāri Karaṇa Kayastha' makes Dr. Bhandarkar suppose that the proper reading should be 'Sandhivigrahādhikarana.' But when we remember the word '*Sandhivigrahādhikari lekhaka*' from the quotation of Vijnāneśvaraṭ and there was no such department as *Sandhivigrahādhikarana* in ancient India, the reading 'Sandhivigrahādhikari Karaṇa Kayastha,' accepted by the scholar who first deciphered the inscription seems to me to be the correct one. It is not at all improbable that two letters were dropped by the engraver. The fact is that the reading 'Sandhivigrahādhikarana

(16) Devipurana, Chap. 39.

(17) Kathasaritsagara, Chapter 72, Sloka 323.

(18) Visvakosha, Vol. XI, p. 690.

Kayastha' does not occur anywhere. Rather in the Kathasaritsagara of Somadeva, the designation 'Sandhivigraha-Kayastha' has been used in place of 'Sandhivigrahadhikari Lekhaka.'

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes : "The various surnames of the grantees we have culled from the various inscriptions as follows :—

1 Bhūti, 2 Chandra, 3 Dāma, 4 Dāsa, 5 Datta, 6 Deva, 7 Dhara, 8 Ghosha, 9 Gupta, 10 Kara, 11 Kirti, 12 Kunda, 13 Mitra, 14 Nāga, 15 Nandi, 16 Pala, 17 Palita, 18 Rakshita, 19 Sarman, 20 Sena, 21 Soma, 22 Vardhana, 23 Varman, 24 Vasu. These are found as 'padavis' among the Bengal Kayasthas to the present day. But what is strange is that they were found as surnames of the Brahmans of Bengal from the sixth to the twelfth century A. D. Another noteworthy fact is that most of them are found as the names of the reigning Kshatriya families of Northern India in the pre-Mahomedan period. That the Palas and Senas were Kshatriya families ruling over Behar and Bengal is well-known. That the Chandras, Ghoshas and Varmans also held parts of Bengal is not unknown. Proceeding backwards to an earlier period, we light upon the Gupta and Nāgas who held sway in Northern India in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. They are too well known to require any elucidation. But we have to note about them here that Gupta and Nāga also are to be found among these surnames. Two more of these surnames are traceable, not however in inscriptions, but

† "সন্ধিবিগ্রহাধিকারী কু ভবেত্তন্ত লেখকঃ ।

বরং রাজা সমাধিষ্টঃ স লিখেদ্রাজশাসনম্ ।"

Mitākshara, Chap. I. Verse 319

on coins. They are Mitra and Datta. Thus coins have been found in Panchāla and Kosala ranging in age from 100 B. C. to 200 A. D, and issued by no less than seven kings, whose names end in Mitra, such as Bhanu Mitra, Bhumi Mitra and so on. Similarly, coins of practically the same period have been picked up from Ayodhya of at least four princes whose names also end in Mitra. Again there were four kings of ancient Mathura of about the second century B. C. known to us from their coins only. They are Purushadatta, Bhavadatta, Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta. As their names terminate in 'datta' the inference is permissible that they pertained to the Datta family. It will be seen that no less than twenty-four of the present Bengal Kayastha surnames were prevalent among the Brahmans of Bengal in the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. Of these at least ten surnames are traceable as the names of the ruling Kshatriya families going back to the second century B. C. When such surnames are shared both by Brahmans and Kshatriyas, the presumption arises that they belonged to one race." (19) "We may draw attention to Mahabharata, Saubhparvan, Chap. 30, V. 13 and Santiparvan, Chap- 49, V. 83, where Sarmakas, Varmakas and Rakshitas are mentioned as different Kshatriya tribes or clans." (20)

The above shows that the surnames which are now found among the Kayasthas originally belonged to the earliest Kshatriya community. When it is observed that in the Puranas, historical poems and in the inscriptions Kayasthas are represented as Kshatriyas, that Kayasthas

(19) *Indian Antiquary*, 1932, (March), p. 63-64.

(20) *Indian Antiquary*, 1932, (March), p. 65.

holding the above surnames are mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions of Damodarpu and Ghaghrahati, and that, what is very important, there is evidence to show that the Kshatriya royal families who had come to Bengal freely mixed their blood with the Kayastha community and no evidence proving similar contact with the Brahmans, it may be concluded that the surnames of the Kshatriyas were first accepted by the ancient Kayastha community of Bengal. Elsewhere, I have shown that from very early times, almost the whole of Gauḍa was under the rule of the Kayasthas.

The surnames were afterwards borrowed from the ruling Kayastha families not only by the Nagara Brahmans, but also by Brahmans of other denominations and the Rajput families. The surnames of the Kayasthas of Bengal are also to be found among those Brahmans whose ancestors at the time lived in Gauḍa. For example among the Gauḍa Brahmans and Gauḍa Rajputs in the North-West the following surnames are still current :—Chanda, Chitra, Chitrasena, Datta, Nidhi, Pāla, Pāla-sinha, Pancholi, Pradhana, Lala, and Sinha. Also among the Udichya Brahmanas in the North-West who came to Siddhapura from Sinhapur, the following surnames are found in use :—Agni, Indra, Ganga, Datta, Bhava, Mitra, Bana, Vishnu and Soma.

Thus, we find that the surnames which are now current among the Kayasthas of Bengal originally belonged to the Kshatriya community. In Eastern as well as Western India the Kayastha community was known to be belonging to the Kshatriya and not to Brahman varna. To seek the origin of the Kayasthas, therefore, we must go to the Kshatriyas.

Abul Fazl says in the *Ain i Akbari* that prior to Muslim occupation, the province of Gauḍa

ruled by the Kayasthas for over two thousand years. According to him, therefore, the Kshatriya royal dynasties of Sra, Pala, Sena and Varma on the other hand were also Kayasthas. From a study of local history we learn that the city of Sankasya was at one time the centre of the Sakasena Kayasthas. The Sakasena Kayasthas made over this city to Brahmans after having rid the place of Buddhist influence. From that time no Sakasena Kayasthas lived in this place.(21) In the history of Oudh, also it is found that long before the ascendancy of the Gāhaḍwar dynasty, the Srivastava Kayasthas ruled over this land. On account of the treachery of the Brahmans, the Gauḍa Kayasthas had migrated to the place at the time of the invasion of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiar. Narapati Das king of this dynasty, was captured by the Delhi Sultan. (22) All this proves that from very early times the Kayasthas had been engaged in the work of administration and government which was the profession of the Kshatriyas. Those who held the kingly office or were engaged in military duties were known as Kshatriyas and those who for generations filled administrative posts from the petty tax-collector of the village to the officer in charge of revenues, and the minister for war and peace were called Kayasthas. According to the Sukraniti, 2. 420 :—

“গ্রামণো ব্রাহ্মণো বোজ্যঃ কায়স্থো লেখকস্তথা ।

তত্তগ্রাহী তু বৈশ্যো হি প্রতিহাবশ্চ পাদজঃ ॥”

(21) Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, P. 3.

(22) Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, P. 67-77.

'The Brahman should be the headman of the village, the Kayastha, the writer, the Vaisya, the tax-collector and the Sudra, the servant.' Here the Kayastha has been treated as a separate varna like the Brahman, but has been distinguished from the Vaisya and the Sudra, and according to Manu and other writers of the Smṛiti there is no other varna except the four varṇas e.g., Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, the Kayastha must have taken the place of Kshatriya in the ancient Hindu society and included in that varṇa.

There is a clear indication in the copper-plate inscription of Raja Lokanāth that intercaste marriage was common in Bengal up to the 7th century A. D. It is not improbable, when this practice was in vogue, that matrimonial connections between the Brahmans and the Kayasthas took place. Some of the Nāgar Brahmans who adopted the profession of the Kayasthas might have merged themselves in the Kayastha community. In the same way the Nāgar Brahmans of Gujarat of the Chitragupta-sreni, though originally a Kayastha, became Brahmans subsequently.

As I have said before, the origin of the Nāgar Brahmans is veiled in deep darkness. It is difficult to indicate precisely the genesis of this particular community. A comparative study of the history of the Nāgar Brahmans and the ancient Kayastha community shows that from very early times there had been intermixture between the two communities. A number of these Brahmans came into the Kayastha society and on the other hand numerous Kayasthas entered into the fold of the Nāgar Brahman community. Antiquarian like Dr. Bhandarkar and others have expressed the opinion that the two communities have a

common origin and this opinion is based not only on the agreement in regard to surnames but also on the resemblance between the customs and usages of the one community with those of the other. The "nāgari. character has also been named after the Nāgar Brahmins and the use of which is a distinguishing feature of their community, so the name of the alphabet called the Kāyathi has derived from the Kāyastha.

Writing about the Nāgari and Kāyathi characters, Sir George Grierson says—

"The Nagari character itself is seldom employed except in MSS. of books and in printing, and then only in Marathi, Bihari, Hindi, Rājasthani and Pahari. For writing ordinary documents, these languages and also Gujarati use what is most generally called the 'Kaithi' alphabet or alphabet of Kayasthas, i. e. of men of the writer-caste. In Gujarati and sometimes in Bihari, this is also used for printing. • • Being used over a very large area, Kaithi varies slightly according to locality." Regarding the special features of the two, he says, "Kaithi differs from the Nāgari mainly in writing the top line familiar to readers of the latter character—in writing the character, a line of ink is generally drawn across the page near the top, and the letters hung from it, so that the resemblance to Nāgari is more completed, but in the second and subsequent lines of the writing this is omitted". (23)

Needless to say that the 'Kāyathi' alphabet is the distinctive alphabet of the Kayasthas. As is the case with the Nāgari characters, slight variations are found according to the place in which they are used. In fact, if the 'Nāgari

and 'Kayathi' characters are studied in their main outline the two alphabets will appear to be fundamentally one and the same with hardly any difference. If the top line is omitted the Nagari characters will be recognised as Kayathi. The alphabet being common, the two communities would apparently have a common origin.

I have already stated about the 99 surnamas of the Kayasthas of Gauḍa. There is no doubt that during the reign of Bhauma Kings in Kamarupa and Gauḍa, there were Kayasthas in Kamarup with various surnames like that of the Brahmins. In the first part of this book I have shown that in the 4th century A. D. in various places of Kamarupa Kayasthas of Nāga family were ruling. Possibly they were ruling as feudatory chiefs under the superior ruler of the Bhauma family. We learn from the Ramganj copper-plate of Isvara Ghosha that he called himself a "Nāgānaya" or scion of the Nāga dynasty and a "Mahānāḍālika." (24) Formerly I took this dynasty to be identical with the Ghosha dynasty of Rāḍha, but now after inspecting the original facsimile of the copper-plate, I came to be of opinion that it would be hazardous to establish a relation between this dynasty and the Ghosha dynasty of Rāḍha. During the Mughal rule, the province of Kamarup within the Mughal dominions was divided into four Sarkars, e.g., Sarkar

(24) Late Akshay Kumar Maitreya was the first man to publish the reading of this copper-plate. It is his reading which has been published in the first volume of this work (vide Vol. I p 200). In the first line বঙ্গ "বঙ্গবিশ্বমহাবল্লভ" has been printed. But from the photograph of the original copper-plate (vide Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 152 back) it clearly appears that the first line reads "বঙ্গ বঙ্গবিশ্বমহাবল্লভ" !

Kamrup, Sarkar Dakshin-kul, Sarkar Dhekri and Sarkar Bāngālbhum. (25) The wide range of land from modern Rangpur to Gauhati was included within these four Sarkars, and of this Iṣvara Ghosha was known as Mahāmāṇḍalika of Dhekkariya or Sarkar Dhekri only. The Dhekkariya Vishaya or Sarkar Dhekri comprised of a portion of present Kuch Bihar and the district of Goalpara. It is needless to add that in this part of Kamrup from a long time past and up till now numerous Kayastha families have been residing.

They are still recognised as being of the same family and kinsman of the aristocratic Kayasthas of Gauḍa and Vanga. During the reign of the Bhauma Kings they scattered all over Kamrup or Assam holding offices under them. I have given a brief account of them in the 1st and 2nd volumes of this work in the Chapters dealing with the Rise of the Kayasthas and the Rule of the Kayasthas.

Even in Sylhet, which was once within the province of Kamarupa and was a centre of Brahminic influence, we find traces of several gotras of Kayasthas amongst the said 99 surnames of the Kayasthas, which are rarely, if at all, found in Gauḍa Vanga.

When we study the history and ancient customs and usages of the Nagar Brahmins and Kayasthas, we at once come to the conclusion that the usages of the Brahmins became introduced into the Kayastha community and some of the Nagar Brahmins were blended into the Kayastha societies under certain circumstances. Even to-day the usages of those Brahmins have not disappeared from certain section of Kayastha society. The Bhaṭṭ Nagar Kayasthas of Gujarat still put on the sacred thread

like the Brahmins. The Gauḍa Brahmins are their family priests. They are said to have migrated there from Northern India. The custom of worshipping the portrait of Chitrakṛti with a sword beside it is a common custom among them. The Maithil Karna Kayasthas have given up their sacred thread through the Brahminic influence, but some of them observe mourning for ten days and many perform the Śrādh intended for the deceased on the thirteenth day after the death. I have already mentioned in this book that though the Maithil Karna Kayasthas declare themselves to have come from the Karnaṭa, in reality their ancestors immigrated from the Rāḍha country in Gauḍa. The Uttara Rāḍhiya Kayasthas are described in their Kula-granthas as Karna Kayasthas. If we study the Kula Granthas (family registers) we can understand that they are the near kinsmen of the Maithil Kayasthas. I have mentioned in the pedigree of the Gauripur-Raj in the second volume of this work that a branch of the Maithil Karna Kayasthas are now living in Assam. There is a settlement of the Karna Kayasthas in Orissa. They are known as Karans or Karna-Kayasthas. They believe that the three families of Nāg, Nāth and Dās among the Kayasthas of Bengal are the descendants of the original Karna Kayasthas. The custom of the purification on the tenth day and the performance of the Śrādh on the eleventh day is prevalent among the Karana Kayasthas of Orissa. In Madras the following classification is found among the Karna Kayasthas, e.g., Mudeliyar, Pillai, Kanakkan and Karnam. They consider themselves to be equal to the Kṣatriyas. It is said that they have also the following three classes among them, e.g., Srishti or Śreṣṭhi Karnam, Kikati

or Kaikati Karnam and Maithili Karnam. (26) The Karna Kayasthas of Madras observed the mourning for twelve days. On the other hand the Srivastava of Malwa and the Ambashtha and Nigama Kayasthas of Behar observe the mourning for ten days and perform the Sradh on the eleventh. This verily proves to be a faint remnant of the Brahmanic usages of the past.

Chapter IV.

A short sketch of Aniruddha Deva and his followers.

Aniruddha Deva was the son of Ādi Bhūiṃḡa Gonda Dekā Gīri by Ajolī Devī, a cousin of Mahapurusha Sankara Deva. He was born in the village Bishnu Balikuchi of Narayanpur of North Lakhimpur in the year 1475 Saka, 15th day of Vaisakh, 16 years before the ascension of Sri Sankardeva in Koch Behar in Saka 1491. He was well educated at home and when he was about 45 years of age, he went to Kāljar in Bhavanpur Mauza of Barpeta sub-division of Kamrup where Gopaldeva the successor of Mahapurusha Madhava lived. Gopaldeva hearing of his coming by boat caused a new road to be made from the Poria river to his house for the journey of Aniruddha who was held in high esteem on account of his being a descendant of an Ādi-bhūiṃḡa and nephew of the Great Sankardeva. Aniruddha deva whose name was till then Harakantha acknowledged the mark of respect, saluted the new road, but preferred to go to Gopaldeva by the old road. This fact gave rise to his followers being called Purani Bhakats, i.e., the

(26) Vide Usha (a Kayastha organ) 5th year, pp. 436, 437-438.

followers of the old path. He learnt the tenets of Vaisnavism so thoroughly from Gopaldeva that his *māyā* i. e., his love for worldly goods were killed and so his followers are known as *Māyā-morias* and not as killers of Mowa fish. Subsequently the Ahom king Sukamphā or Khora Rājā hearing about the miraculous powers of Aniruddhadeva tested his powers and confirmed the name of *Māyāmarā*. The name Aniruddha was given to him by Gopaldeva after he took his *sarāna*. As his followers were staunch in their religious belief not bowing to any other person then to their Guru and to any other idol except before the image of Krishna, they were called Matekas, i.e., of one faith. King Buddhi Svarga Narayana gave this name after trying 2 of his disciples who did not lower their head seven below the 2 swords which were kept horizontally and got their heads severed while ordered to ride against them on 2 ponies. This incident is related in the *Mayamaria* history.

After his learning the religion from Gopaldeva for 3 years he came home with the permission of his Guru and with order to preach the religion in Assam. Arriving at home he established his satra first at Bālikuchi and then on account of Daffa raids he removed to a place which he called Nahorati after surrounding the satra by planting Nahor trees. To this place people of all castes flocked and finding His Holiness Aniruddhadeva of a saintly character became his disciples. Many are of opinion that Aniruddha Deva while preaching this religion, also wrote the 4th and 5th Skandha of Bhagavata in Assamese language. In this book, we find, that he has called himself as 'Kayastha kulapati' or head of the 'Kayastha Samaj' and has also identified himself as a disciple of Gopaldeva. Due to the permission of his preceptor he was able to write the 5th Skandha. From his own writings, we

find sufficient proof which bears testimony to the above fact. It is written that Aniruddha Deva, son of Adi Bhuiya Gopāda Giri was an ardent scholar. He became a great admirer of Gopala, to whom he showed great mark of respect. But, in another place of his book, he has identified himself as a disciple of Mādhava Das, who was his uncle in relation. Mādhava Das kept himself aloof from the wordly flairs and thus may be called as a true Brahmachari.

The 5th Skandha Bhāgavata by Aniruddha was written in 1524 Saka, i.e. 1604 A.D.* His Yoga powers and possession of a holy script which his Guru Gopaladeva had given, roused the envy of other Gosains and so from the time of 4th Adhikara Nityanandadeva, the Ahom kings began to persecute the Gosāins. Nityanandadeva was killed by the order of king Surampha or the Bhangā Raja. Baikunthanath Deva the 7th Adhikar was killed by the order of king Gadadhar who collected all the Gosains at Kamrup and got 2 Gosains of each satra who were followers of Gopaladeva killed. Knowing and remembering that revenge was not a quality of Vaishnava people, sadhus and Mahāntas bore all these atrocities silently. But when Chaturbhuj Gosain was ordered to be killed by Raja Siva Sinha at the instigation of Fulesvari Rānī, but he was then saved by Pārvatī Gosain. Next Naharkhora Marān and Ragha Moran were punished by Kirti Chandra Baḍa Barua on account of their not paying the king homage in way of supply elephants; the 2 Morans were greatly perturbed and taking

* "বেদ পঞ্চবাণ শশাঙ্ক সকল আধিন কৃৎপক্ষত

সপ্তমী গোচরে বহু নববে পদ তৈল। সমাপ্ত ।"

(Panchama Skandha by Aniruddha)

the help of Barjana Gohāideva, the prince by Siva Sinha's 3rd Rani and Gaginee Baḍadeka alias Saptabhuj Gosain rose in rebellion in spite of Astabhuj Gosain, the then Adhikara, persistently dissuaded them. A reference to Honourable Gait's history of Assam from page 182 down to the chapter on the decay of the Ahom rule in Assam will show the causes and details of the fighting though there are lots of discrepancies as compared with the history (of this sect) given in *Sachi-pat*.

The royalist party was worsted. Ragha the Maran chief committed acts of oppressions on the royalist party in revenge and forced the Gosains and Mahantas of other satras to pay homage to Astabhuj Gosain who was never a party to the rebellion nor to the atrocities committed by Ragha. As a Vaisnava sadhu he always suffered in silence and asked both his son Gaginee Baḍadeka and Ragha Maran to desist from the rebellion and atrocities consequent on it. They heeded not. The Gosain gave shelter to the Baḍa Barua and king Lakshmi-Sinha, Ragha forcibly dragged them away using bad language to the Gosain and he in return cursed Ragha saying that he would reap the results of his actions on the night before the Bihu and he also told his son Gaginee Baḍadeka that he and his kinsmen would perish like the Yaduvāṇsis. When Ragha was killed and Lakshmi-Sinha re-ascended the throne, he, instead of being grateful, ordered a general massacre of Mayamarā Gosains amounting to a massacre of lakh followers of this sect. When Gaurinath ascended the throne after the death of Lakshmi-Sinha he also ordered another massacre instead of pacifying the rowdy people. Goaded to desperation the Mayamarias again rebelled and defeated the royalists. Raja

Gaurinath fled to Gauhati. It was Captain Welsh coming at the invitation of Gaurinath who defeated the Mayamarias killing king Bharat Siṅha a deka Gosain who "was forcibly made a king by the victorious 3rd Mayamaria General Harihar Tanti, an Ahom by caste and a disciple of Mayamara satra. After this, when peace was restored, the Mahantas of other satras laid before Purnananda Baḍa Gohain that those people should commit *prayaschittas* for rising in rebellion against the Ahom kings and for killing people. Patit Barua did not agree to this. He said that if the Mayamarias were to commit *prayaschittas* they also should do the same as they massacred poor and even innocent women, children and 120 families of Brahmins of Mayamaria satra. This argument of Patit Barua was accepted by king Chandra-kanta Siṅha. Thus a breach remained between the people of this sect and the disciples of other satras who had practically claimed to call themselves royalists. These facts led some 4th class poetaster to write the wretched puthi—the Adicharitra, which has caused many hearsays and writings to come out of even such authors as the Hon'ble Mr Gait and others.

The incidents related about Aniruddha's quarrelling with Sankaradeva after stealing the Kalpataru Sastra are merely fictions. If Sankaradeva came to Upper Assam by boat when he was at Bardua such statement of this wretched book was not worth reconciling; he then surely had done so some years before his ascension in 1491 saka in Kuch Behar when Aniruddha deva was not born or if born at all he was a minor to adopt the religion from Sankaradeva and to have quarrelled with him. The puthi bears no date of the incidents alleged. Every one knows that Dakshinpat satra was

founded by Banamalideva at a much later time Banamali deva was Balaramdeva's disciple and Balaramdeva was a disciple of Damodaradeva, Dihing satra was established by Jadumanideva who was a disciple of Gopaladeva, and co-disciple and bosom friend of Aniruddhadeva. But the author without any responsibility has interpreted in his book that Sankardeva came with Damodardeva to Dakshinpat and here established Damodardeva and also Jadumani to Dihing Satra. These are all fictions and outcomes of a mad brain: There is not a piece of solid history in it. None of the 4 biographies of Sankardeva and the 2 biographies of Damodaradeva relate any such incidents. The full genealogy of Srimat Aniruddhadeva is given in the Appendix. III, p. 1-2.

The above account have been kindly lent by S_j. Hridayananda Chandra Goswami Adhikar of Dinjoy Mayamara Satra. But it does not corroborate with the account published in “হুৰ্ণোৰ প্ৰতিবাদ” and মালপটীয়া বুকজী written by S_j Utsavananda Goswami, Adikar of Puranmati Mayamara Satra. In vol. II, it has then been written “His (Aniruddha's) descendants separated from the Samāja of their ancestors and came to be called as Kalitas. They are still known by that name and have nuptial relationship with the Kalita families”*

Perhaps, the above lines had erroneously been adopted mainly basing upon Hon'ble Gait's argument. The Adhikar of Dinjoy Mayamara Satra have made himself clear by saying that they are from time long past, known to be Kayasthas and not Kalitas. Even they to this day deny sort of inter-connection with them and *vice versa*. We have also the version of Utsavananda, Adhikar of Puranimati Satra, who in his

"*Durghorā Prātibad*" have clearly stated that they were never known as Kolita but always a Kayastha, and as such, have always married Kayastha girls. But it has also happened that whenever suitable Kayastha girls were not available they were forced to marry girls belonging to Kalita families. But in this form of marriage a *Homa* is performed just after the usual marriage ceremony is over, and the bridegroom party does neither partake food, nor water with the bride's party. We have find a similar connection of the Puranimati Satra with the Baratari Satra of Khandira mouza near Jorhat, Gagala Satra in the district of Sibsagar, and with the Adhikar family of Batpar Satra. But Puranimati family has no connection with the Kayasthas of Kamrupa. The Adhikar family of Dinjoy Satra on the other hand has no connection with that of Puranimati. The Adhikars who belong to the family of Aniruddha Deva are even now known as Kayasthas or the descendants of early Bhuiyas.

Due to the non-prevalence of proper or genuine Kayastha girls, in the province, some Kayastha of this place before marrying any girl, are bound to go through some sacred religious rites strictly enjoined by the shastras. The more aged, who comes with the bride gives the hand of the girl to the bridegroom, who in turn pays all the expenses of the marriage. In this form of marriage, Srotriya Brahmans attend as priest of the ceremony, but they cannot perform Shradha rites and others, which are done by the Brahmins of Kamrup. These girls after their marriages, cannot take food nor drink any more in their paternal homes, they are not even allowed to go frequently to their fathers' houses. But there is no such custom among the Mayamara family of Dinjoy

Garpara and Madarkhat. For all these reasons, the Kamrupa Kayasthas declare the Adhikara family of the last three Satras as belonging to the pure Suryyavansi Kayastha.

Chapter V.

Manohar Deva.

Haladhvaja was a descendant of the Maudgalya gotra. His son was Tamradhvaja. He was praised by every body for his intelligence, learning and good administration. During the reign of Maharaja Naranarayana, Tamradhvaja became his minister. The king and the queen was very much pleased with his counsels. Bhagavan Deva a disciple of Deva Damodara came from Patbausi and established a Satra at Gobindapur in order to preach his doctrine in the northern quarters. He had many disciples there. Tamradhvaja forcibly took them away and made them work as day-laboures. Bhagavan Deva became very sorry and informed Damodar Deva about the acts of oppression. Hearing from Bhagavan the accounts of the miserable plight of his disciples and devotees, Deva Damodar sent for Tamradhvaja, who came to visit him shortly. Damodar, seeing the beautiful feature of Tamradhvaja, pleasingly said to him "Well minister, I am much pleased by your appearance, you should give up oppressing my disciples and devotees. You should become their guru, and it befits you." It is needless to add that the minister too was much more moved by the appearance of Deva Damodar and by his solemn

speech. He took shelter unto him. Damodar Deva from his imposed look renamed him Deva Manohar after having consecrated him as his disciple. Since then Tamradhvaja was known as Deva Manohar and Deva Damodar appointed him as Adhikari and directed him to establish Satra and preach the doctrine. Manohar gave up the post of ministership and established Singua Satra in the present mauza of Sarukshetri in Kamrup. By his preachings, many people became his disciples. Being charmed by his eloquence and excellence, the king of Assam granted him free of rent 90 bigha of land as *Dharmottara* in villages Yasoda and Bagchara within mauza Sarukshetri. Besides Singua Satra, Manohar Deva established two more Satras named Kapala and Nasatra. All these three Satras are situated within mauza Sarukshetri.

Jayahari and Chakrapani, two brothers of Kayastha family of village Chenga having lost their parents at a very early age, took shelter unto Manohar Deva in Singra Satra. Helpless as they were, Deva Manohar took them and was impressed by the character of both of them. When they came of age, he appointed Jayahari as Adhikari of Kapala satra and Chakrapani as that of Nasatra. Hundreds of people became their disciples by their devotion. And the descendants of both of them are maintaining in geneological succession the dignity of the post of Adhikaris of the two Satras respectively.

Manohar Deva was a famous man. We hear many anecdotes about his wonderful deeds. In one time, Manohar Deva had an occasion to go to the house of a disciple. His disciples pressed him not to go by a path which passed through the neighbouring jungle. As in that jungle-tract people are heard to be attacked and gone to death by a wild buffalo,

Monohar Deva was prepared to pass by that way through the jungle and would not pay any head to it. His disciples followed him with *khol*s and *Kartal*s (drums and cymbals). As soon as his palanquin entered the jungle, wild buffaloe rushed at the party on hearing the sound of the unmelodious music. But the wonder is that on coming near the palanquin the buffaloe stopped before Manohar Deva bowing heads. Manohardeva said "Stay where you are and keep quiet." On hearing Manohar's words the buffalo knelt down. And Manohar placed a garland on his head and whispered a few words of advice into his ears. On that very day the buffalo left that jungle and came to a place near Singra Satra. During the day time the buffalo used to stray in the jungle and at night he remained on its knees in front of the room of the Satra where religious songs are sung. Many people noticed it and remarked that the wild buffalo who used to kill men, became a devotee of Manohar.

In Mauza Sarukshetri there are two rivers named the Kapala and the Dihinga. In one time the strong current of these two rivers used to cause irreparable loss to numerous villagers. One night Manohar Deva saw in a dream that the people living on either sides of these rivers fell on his feet and were imploring him for help saying "Who will save us if you do not?" At dawn, Manohar boarded a boat with flowers and garlands, rowed right through the waves and came to the confluence of both the streams. There, taking the name of God he threw the flowers into the water. It is wonder of wonders from that date, the current of these two streams became weaker and weaker. And since then the people living

on both the banks of those two streams passed their days peacefully and happily.

People were used to suffer much for want of water in the months of Phalgun and Chaitra on their way to Nasatra. The disciples came and informed him that they were about to die of thirst. At this time Manohar Deva found no other means to make arrangement for water. He threw his gold ring on the ground and said "Let water come up, let my devotees be saved from death." As a matter of fact, there appeared immediately a well full of drinking water. The disciples drank water from that well and were relieved. Even now that well exists near Nasatra and is known as Suvarkunda (Golden well). We hear about many other miracles attributed to Manohar Deva. There are extensive descriptions of these matters in a book named Manohar Deva Charitra written by Ramanath Deva, the grandson of Manohar Deva.



Chapter VI.

Sripati Bhuiya and the Chaudhuri family of Chenga in Khetribhag.

Sripati Datta (Bhuiyā) of Maudgalya Gotra was one of the Bāra-Bhuiyās or 12 nobles who came to the court of Raja Durlabhanarayan and settled in Kanaujpur near the capital of the kingdom of Kamatā. He was appointed Governor of the western part of the modern western Duars then included in the kingdom of Kamatā. His son Chidānanda, grandson Jagadānanda, and great-grandson Krishnā-

nanda occupied the same position as Governors of the westernmost Duārs. Niranjana, son of Krishnānanda succeeded his father in the Governorship. During his Governorship Hussain Shah, King of Gauḍa invaded Kamatā. Niranjana fought hard against his Mussalman enemies. The Kamatā army was treacherously routed and Niranjana was captured and taken prisoner to Gauḍa. His brother Narahari fled to Kāmarupa with other Bhuiyās who fought on the side of Kamatā. Afterwards Niranjana was pardoned, set at liberty, employed in the military service of the Bengal king and granted a Jaagir. His son Visvapati was also in the military service and Visvapati's son Dhanapati alias Dhanusinha was appointed commander of hundred archers by Daud Khan, independent ruler of Bengal. Dhanusinha was a skilful archer and rose in the considerations of Daud Khan for killing an ominous bird at night by aiming at the sound. The nobles grew jealous of him and poisoned the king's ears, hinting that the Bhuiyā (Dhanusinha) was in secret negotiation with Raja Todarmal who was then leading a Mughal army from Bihar against the Pathan king of Bengal. On suspicion Dhanusinha was exiled from Gauḍa, and wandering westward, he met Chilā Rāya on the way who was coming to invade Gauḍa for the Mughal Emperor. Chilā Rāya appointed Dhanusinha, on his supplication, as commander of 200 archers. After the defeat of Daud Khan, Chilā Rāya's army returned to Koch Bihar and Dhanusinha settled in his ancestral place of Kanaujpur which was then included in the Koch kingdom. Dhanusinha married in one of the Kayastha families settled in Koch-Bihar and remained in Kanaujpur for some years. When the Koch kingdom was divided between king

Naranarāyan and his nephew Raghudeva, son of Chila Raya, Dhanusinha removed, with his family and Kayastha kinsmen, to Rāmdia in Kamarupa which was then a part of Koch Hajo kingdom allotted to king Raghudeva. King Raghudeva gave Dhanusinha some Koch domestics whose descendants are still living at Chenga.

When Koch Hajo was annexed to the Mughal Empire in the civil war between Parikshit, son of Raghudeva and Lakshminarayan, son of king Naranarayan, Daityāria, son of Dhanusinha became an officer of the Mughal Emperor with the command of a military force. He was appointed an Wazir or councillor of the Mughal Faujdar of Hajo and was given grants of lands and some Muhāmmedan attendants, whose descendants still reside at Chenga. His son Sundara Raya succeeded him and when the Mughals were defeated by the Ahom king, Sundara Raya's properties were seized and confiscated and he fled to Baḍanagar, where he joined Uttamanarayan, the zemindar of Baḍanagar and fought against the Ahoms at Srighat. He was afterwards restored to his possessions at Ramdia. The river Barnadi was fixed as a boundary between the Mughal and the Ahom Kingdoms.

Sundara Raya was thereafter created Chaudhuri of Hajo Pargana and when he became old, his son Durlabhanarayan became Chaudhuri of Hajo. In the meantime the Ahoms again became ascendant. The fratricidal wars among the sons of the Emperor Shah Jahān made Mughals of Bengal unmindful of the defence of its frontier provinces. The family of Sundara Rāya was persecuted by the Ahom Bar-Phukan, the Viceroy at Gauhati. The family then removed to Chenga with their Kayastha kinsmen, Mussalman attendants and Koch domestics.

After a year or two, Durlabhanarayan was secretly killed by Bar-Phukan at Tapa on his way to Ramdia where he had local interest till then.

The sons of Durlabhanarayan and his brother Kamal-narayan relinquished the Sakta faith and became initiated into Vaishnavism under the influence of Revatipriyā Devi, wife of Sri Chaturbhujadeva (grandson of Sri Sankaradeva) and sister-in-law of Sundara Raya. Revatipriya Devi and Sunitipriyā Devi wife of Sundara Raya were daughters of Sarabari Satradhikari.

After Durlabha's death, his brother Kamal-narayan became the Chaudhuri of Khetribhag and when Harinarayan, son of Durlabhanarayan became major, he was appointed Chaudhuri in place of his uncle Kamal-narayan.

When Gadadhar Sinha ascended the Ahom throne, the Mahapurushiyas were persecuted and the Chaudhuri family of Chenga was forced to forfeit all their properties, and the Chenga Pargana itself.

Madhuram, son of Harinarayan and Prannath, son of Kamalanarayan established a Satsangi Satra at Chenga and a Dharmottara grant was awarded to Madhuram by Raja Siva-Sinha, the Ahom king. A further grant of "nankar" or rent-free lands made over to him was in the records and these are still extant. Raja Siva Sinha surveyed Kamrup, and Madhuram was appointed a Patwari or Surveyor.

Madhuram's son Parvānanda also became a Patwari in the reign of Pramatta Sinha. Parvananda further got fresh grants of lands from the State. His son Purnānanda suffered much from the Māyāmaria rebellion and the anarchical state of affairs in the country.

Purnananda's son was Upānanda. He was very strong and hardy. In a dual, he discomfited Haradatta and Viradatta leaders of the

Dumdumiyas who rebelled against the Ahom king.

For the fealty and allegiance of the forefathers of the Chaudhuris of Chenga, the Ahom king rewarded Khetribhag to the family, dividing it into 3 Parganas of Chenga. Sarukhetri and Khetri. He appointed Upānanda, Prithvinarayan and Syamnath as Chaudhuris of those places respectively. Upānanda died early and could not enjoy the fruits of his allegiance for a long time. He was succeeded in the Pargana by his cousin Gajanath, as his sons Jayānanda and Somanarayan were then minors.

When the Burmese attacked the village of Chenga, Jayananda, Srinārayan and Naranath fought against them hard, but were finally defeated at Katharkur. They, with Gajanath Chaudhuri retreated to Bajali, the place of Jayānanda's maternal uncle. But afterwards when peace was restored by the British and the territory ceded, Gajanath, Prithvinarayan and Syamnath were replaced to their former Parganas. Gajanath was succeeded in his Pargana by Jayānanda, who next became the Chaudhuri and subsequently Mauzadar of Chenga Mauza, which was originally designated as a Pargana before.

Jayānanda had herculean strength. Single handed and quite unarmed, he once encountered and killed a tiger. He died at the age of 66. In 1836/37, he recovered his Dharmottara and Nankar lands by giving evidence of his title before the Revenue Commissioner, General Jenkins and his Assistant, Mr. Bogle. During his time in 1844, the Koch domestics of the family were emancipated from their bondage by Mr. Campbell.

Jayānanda was succeeded by his son, Bhavānanda. When in his advanced years he was asked to pass Survey Examination, which

by the law of the land was required for all Mauzadars to know as they were the Survey and Settlement officers of the place, he retired in favour of his son Anandarām who passed in the Survey holding first class certificate.

In 1894 decennial settlement of revenue and cadastral survey of Kamrup was made. The enhancement of revenue resulting from it led the people of Sarukhetri and Dakshin Bar-khetri to riot. Anandaram and his father Bhabananda were specially deputed from Chenga to Sarukhetri for collection of revenue. Both the father and son went to Sarukhetri with an armed force, captured the ringleaders, quailed the riot and realised the revenue to the full extent the Government demanded under the new assessment. In recognition of the service, a certificate was given by order of the then Viceroy and Governor-general, dated 22nd June, 1897.

Bhavananda died in 1906, at the age of 77. Anandaram became Mauzadar of Chenga on the death of his father.

In January 1917 Anandarām expired at the age of 63 and he was succeeded in his Mauza by his second son Hridayananda. His elder brother Rāmananda had been appointed a Sub-deputy Collector previously in January 2, 1915.

The family having been sub-divided, Srinārayan removed to Dekarbari in the same village. He was appointed Chaudhuri of Sarukhetri Pargana after Prithvinarayan. Rai Protap Chandra Barua Bahadur, zamindar of Rangamati married Srimati Kanchanapriya, daughter of Jaynarayan and grand-daughter of Prithvinarayan Chaudhuri of Sarukhetri Pargana. Her brother Rabichandra and cousin Syamnarayan removed to Gauripur where their descendants are still living. Other branches

shifted into distant lands. The descendants of Ramballabh, grandson of Ramnarayan removed to Kurua in the Mangaldai Sub-division of Darrang District. Gaurimal last descendant of Bandhuram, grandson of Ramanarayan removed to Dalgoma. Chandrakanta Chaudhuri the only surviving descendant of Srinarayan is living in his ancestral home at Chenga.

The descendants of Kamal-Narayan, the younger line of the family of Sundar Raya continued to live at Chenga. After Syamnath, his cousin Krishnaram became Chaudhuri of Khetri Pargana and Mauzadar of Saru-chenga. Lakshinath Chaudhuri, younger son of Syamnath became pleader at Gauhati and acquired a considerable fortune.

Rajanikanta Datta Chaudhuri, son of Raghunath and a nephew of Lakmshinath, became Mauzadar of Damka Chakabaosi in 1903. It was a family Mauza being held once by Bhabananda Chaudhuri. The Government have conferred on Rajanikanta, title of Rai Bahadur in December 1927 in recognition of his distinguished services. The family has been residing at Sorbhog since the acquisition of the Damka Mauza.

* For the geneology of this family vide appendix I, p. 3.

Basu Barua Family of Gauripur, (Goalpara)

Prabhākara Basu, fourth in descent from Sukti Basu of Bagāṇḍā was a Dakṣiṇa Rādhīya Kāyastha. He went to Panāchala (Hughli.) and settled down there. Jogi Basu, seventh in descent went to live in the village Jangalbadhal in the District of Jessore. His third son Maniram come to Rangpur to do business. At that time there was a good deal of trade relation between Koch Bihar and Rangpur. His son Sudām became acquainted with the officials of the Koch Bihar State in his trade relations. He settled down in Koch Bihar after sustaining a loss in trade. His son Jagatpati accepted service in the Records office of H. H. Raja Rupnarain of Koch Bihar. On account of his high ability and efficiency he soon became the chief-record-keeper of the State and the title of "Majumdar" was conferred on him. His sons Gauripati and Lakshmipati and the next three generations enjoyed the title of Majumdar. Ramjiban great-great-grandson of Lakshmipati and son of Bishnujiban lost his property for nonpayment of revenue. Mukundanarayan, son of Chandranath and great-great-grandson of Gauripati gave his daughter in marriage to Bhai-rab Chandra Barua of Gauripur, and had thus become associated with the Gauripur family. Raja Bulchandra Barua married the sister of Rajanikanta Ghosh of the village Changra in Koch Bihar. Ramjiban afterwards married to the daughter of Rajanikanta Ghosh. Ramjiban in his adverse circumstances came to live with Kumar Dhirchandra Barua, son of Raja Bulchandra Barua. He settled down in the village of Simli Kamli alias Sona-Ghuli in the Ghulla Pargana, which was the property of Dhirchandra Barua. He obtained lands from the Zamin-dar of Rangamati to build his dwelling house

and sufficient plots to maintain his family. His *sapiṇḍa* agnates too came to live in Sonaghuli and Gharialdanga. Those of his relatives who served the Baruas of Rangamati or Gauripur adopted their master's honorific title of Barua. Sons of Ramjiban also obtained properties under Gauripur Rāj. Pratap chandra Barua, Raja of Gauripur, married Anandamayī, the daughter of late Kalikanta Basu in the year 1258 B. S. and he gave as a gift to his father-in-law's family a big property in Mauja Kaldoba for their maintenance. Kālikanta's descendants are still holding the property in their heritage.

A few years after Ramjiban's settling at Simli Kamli, Kunjakisor, a *sapiṇḍa* agnate of the said Ramjiban, left Koch-Bihar for Gharialdanga with his family and settled down there. His Gharialdanga dwelling-house still exists. Rai Pratapchandra Bahadur gave some lands to Kunjakisor for a dwelling house as well, where a new structure was erected to suit his family.

Kunjakisor had two wives. Bhavani Prasad was his son by his first wife and Rajkisor by the second. Rajkishore married the daughter of Jagesvar Barua of Katyayana Gotra. He had six sons and a daughter. Girischandra, Harischandra, Jageschandra, Buddhikanta, Baladeva and Ramkisor were his sons. Rani Tārinipriya, widow of Rai Pratapchandra Barua Babadur, adopted Buddhikanta. Buddhikanta was renamed after the

rashion and came to be known as Raja Prabhatchandra Barua Bahadur.*

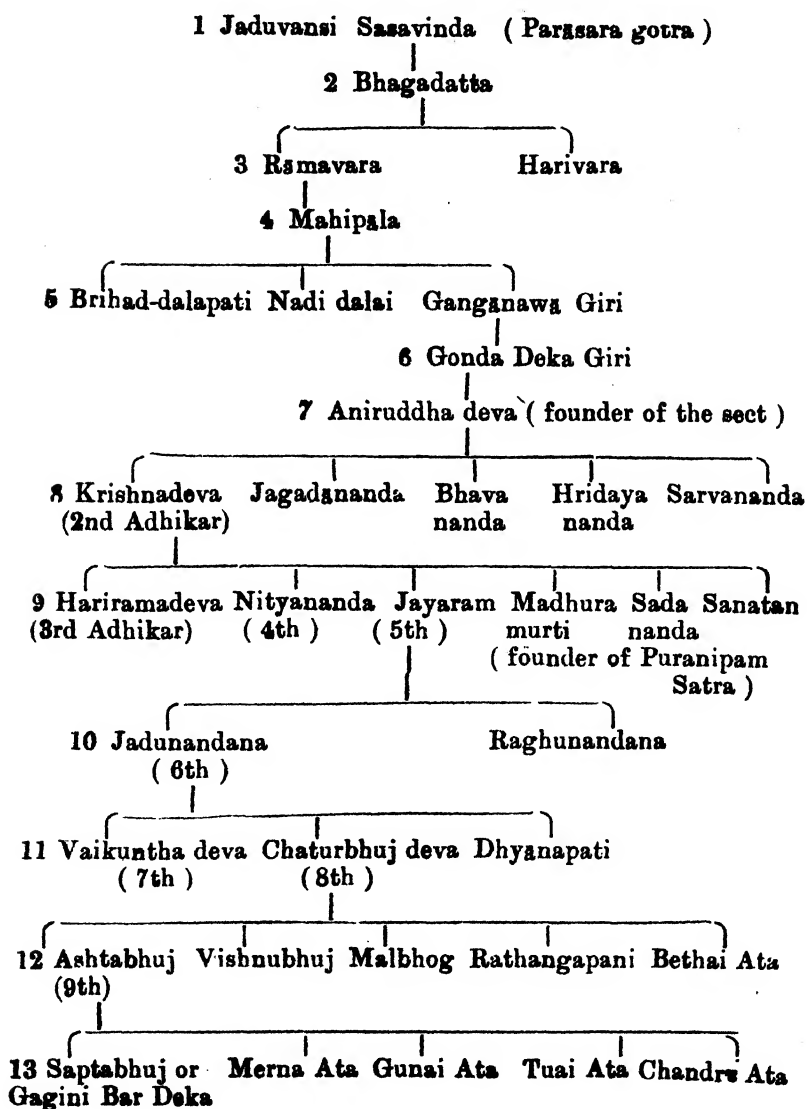
Ramkisor, the youngest son of Rajkisor, married the daughter of Bhagabaticharan Datta Chaudhuri of village Andul in the District of Howrah (Bengal), who belonged to the Dakshina-rāḍhiya section of the Kayasthas and was of Bharadvaja Gotra. Six sons and three daughter were born of this marriage. (Vide Vol II, Appendix III, Pedigree of Basu Barua Family of Gauripur, Goalpara.)

* Vide Vol II. Pedigree of the Gauripur Raj, Appendix I, p. 77.

End of the Volume III.

Appendix—III.

Pedigree of Aniruddha Deva, founder of Mayamara Sect



8 Sarvananda Deva (Youngest son of Aniruddha Deva)

9 Parasu Bhuvana Mohan Bala Ananta Anadi Jat Sri Trahi
ram ram ram ram ram ram ram ram ram

10 Sridhar Srihari

11 Bapuai Pitambar (10th Adhikar)

12 Bhajanananda Bhaktananda Bhavananda Jayananda
(11th) (12th) (14th) (15th)

13 Svarupananda Chidananda Chandrakanta Deva
(13th) (16th) (1st Adhikar Madarkhata
Mayamara Satra)

14 Nijananda Ramananda Krishnananda
(2nd Adhikar-Madarakhata)
Somachandra Jadab Trailokya

Jitendrananda Maitrendrananda Jogendrananda

15 Chandra Indra Brahma Datta Jayachandra Kirti
Datta Datta chandra

12 Jayanandadeva, 4th son of Pitambardeva & 15th Adhikara

13 Jagadananda Ajitananda Hridayananda Devananda
(17 A of Dinajay (Present 18th Adhikar Dekha
Satra) of Dinajay Satra) Adhikar

14 Abjananda

15 Kamalachandra

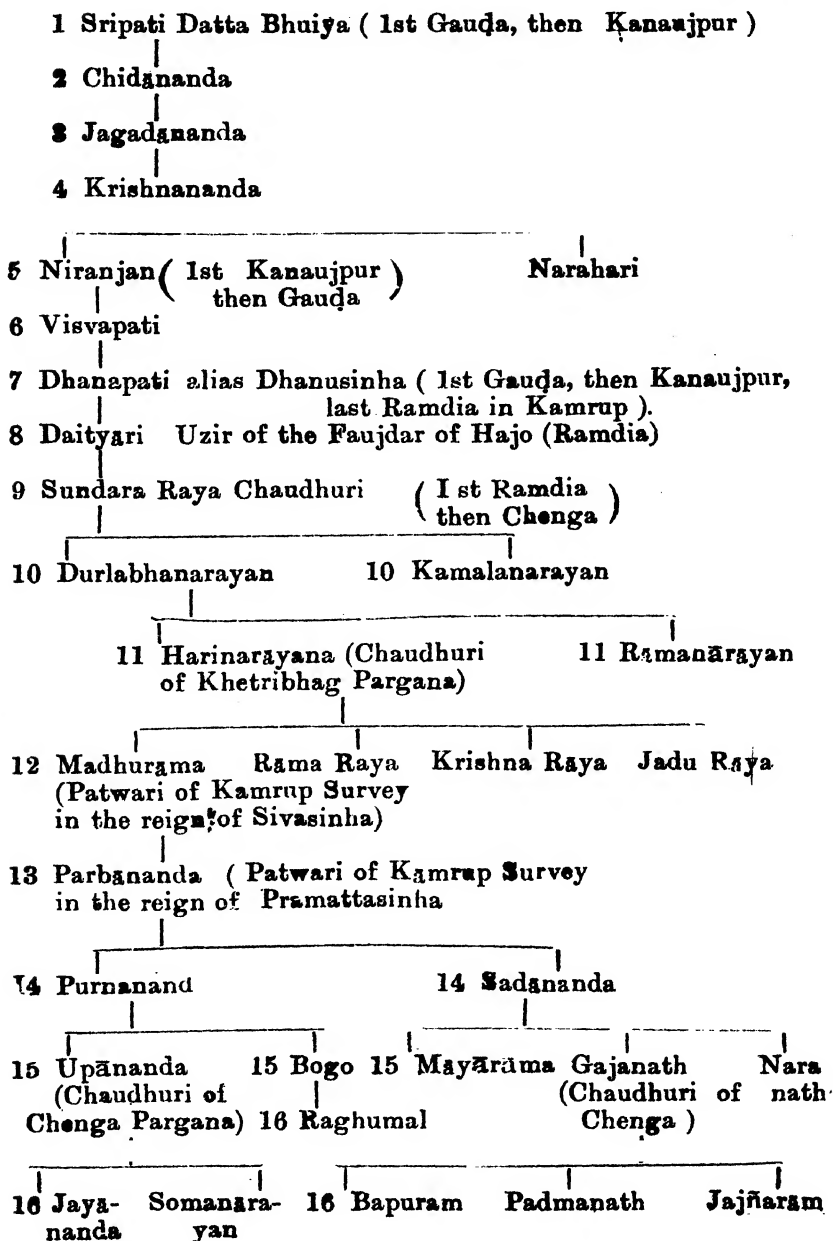
Saradā Sarbadā
nanda nanda

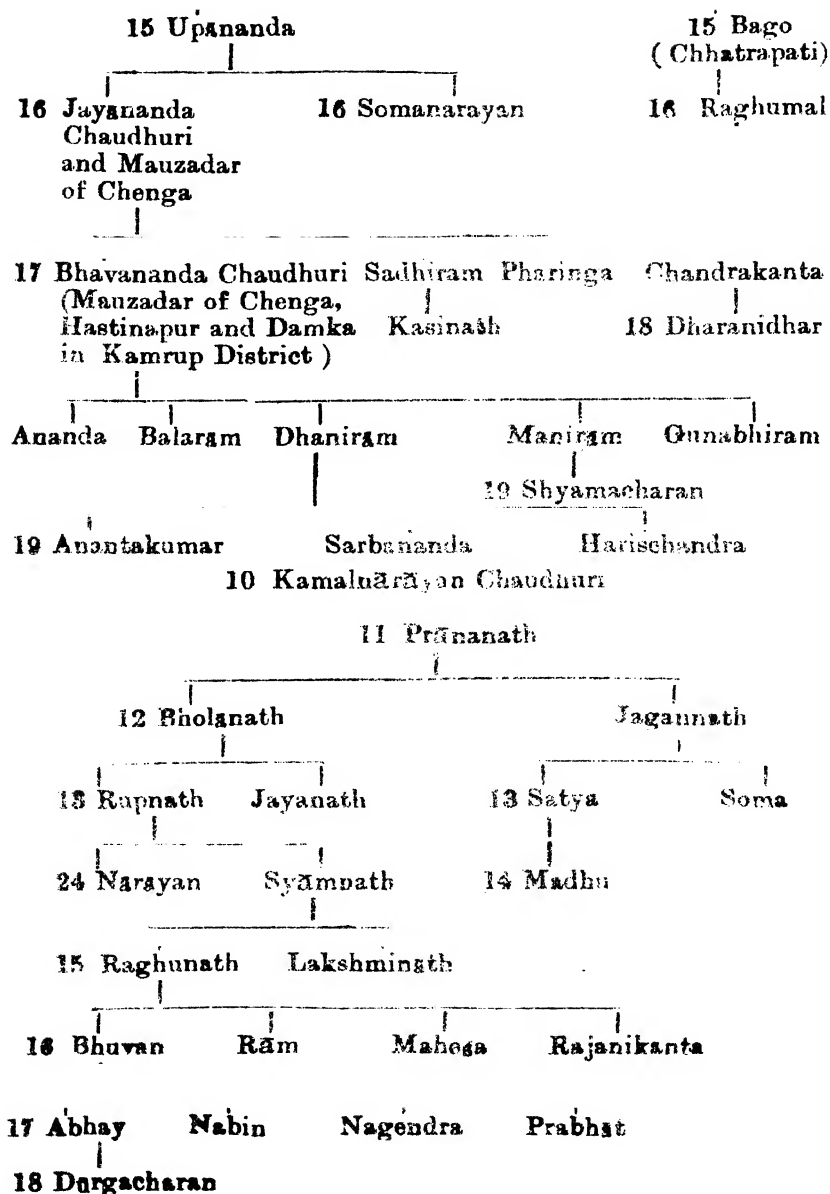
Vaisnavā- Mahada- Abyakta- Jibakanta Hirakanta
nanda nanda nanda

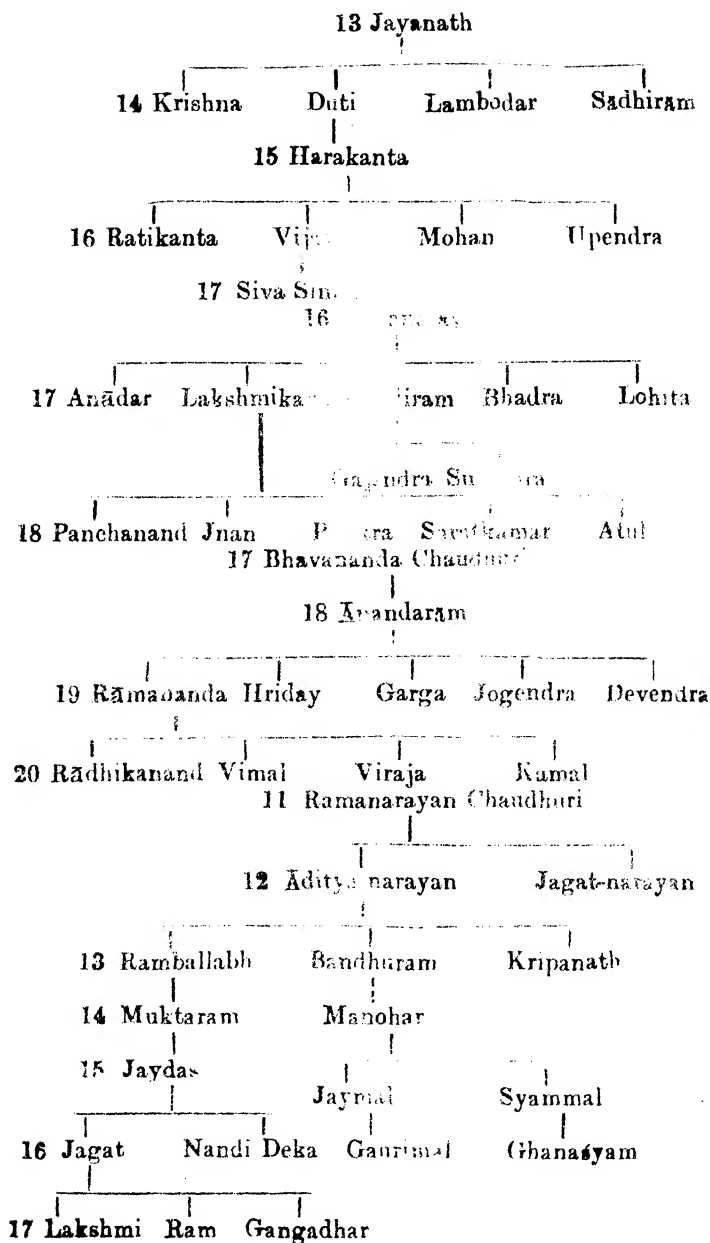
* "This genealogical tree is correct one, another table given by Utsa ananda Goswami of Purani-Mati Satra in 'Durghora Pratibad' is incorrect"—

Sd. Hridayananda Chandra Goswami (of M. yamara Dinajoy Satra).

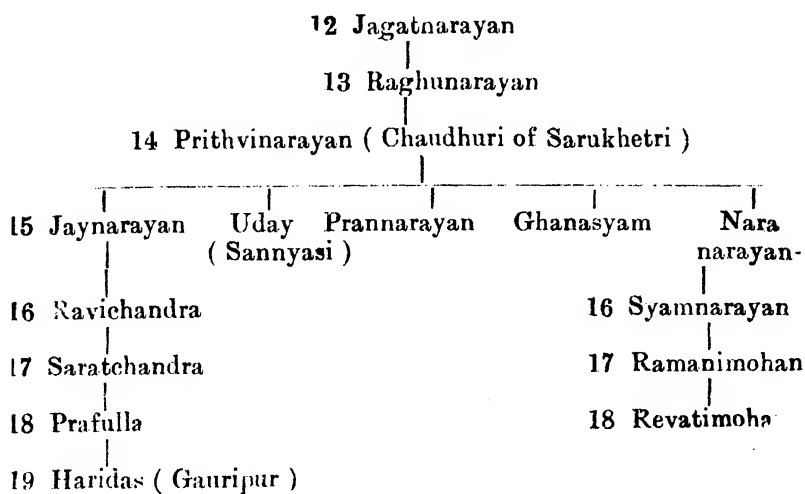
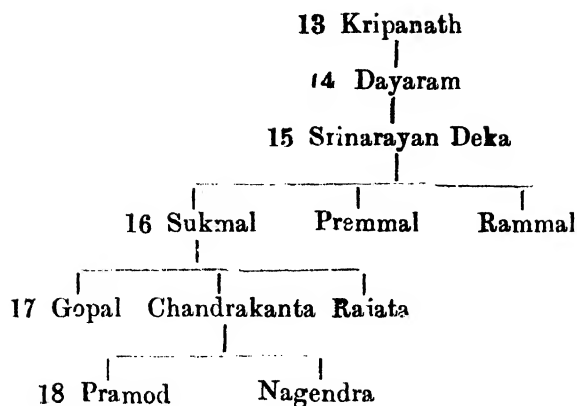
**The Chaudhuri family of Chenga in Khetribhag District
Kamrup, (Gotra Maudgalya).**



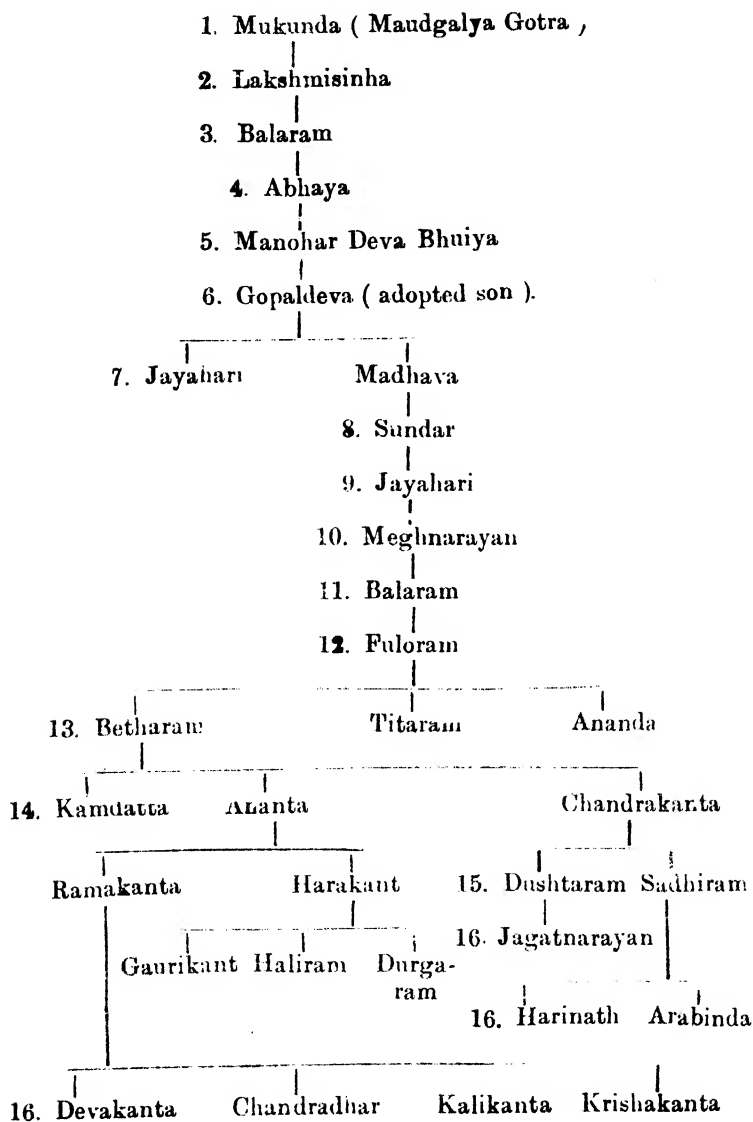
Chaudhuri family of Chenga**14 Purnananda (Patwari)**

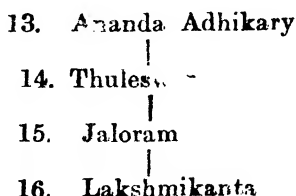
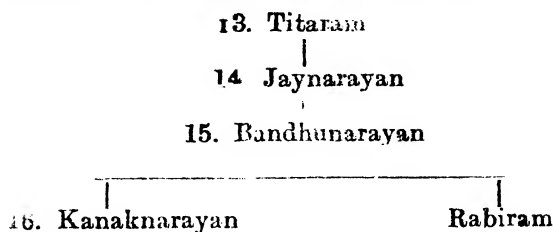


Chaudhuri family of Chenga



Adhikari family of Nasatra, District Kamrup.

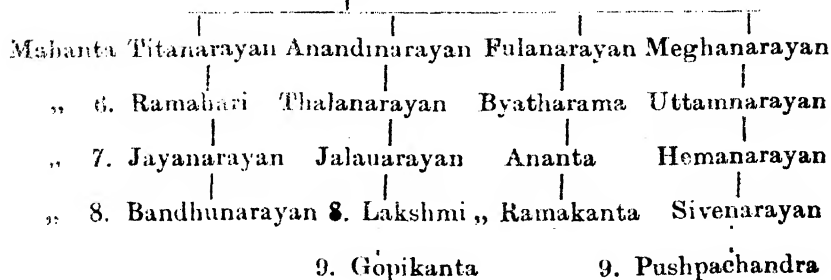
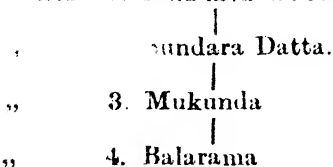


Adhikari family of Nasatra District Kamrup.

17. G. Ananth Dharmakanta

Family of Madhava Datta, (Mahanta of Nasatra)

Mahanta 1. Madhava Datta* (Maudgalya Gotra)



9. Devakanta Chandranarayan

* Manohar Deva brought Madhava and Jayahari Datta from Chenga in Bausi Pargana in Saka 1590 and first established them at Kapala satra. Madhava Datta was made Mahanta of Nasatra.

Adhikari and Mauzadar family of Khatara-satra, Darrang.

1. Govinda Ata Thakur* (Maudgalya gotra) (foundar of Khatara).

2. Padmapani, his son 3. Sarangapani, his son 4. Ramgovinda

5. Gayapani

6. Vasudev Thakur
(Khatara satra)

6. Ramdev Thakur
(Majbat satra)

6. Vanamali
(Chapatal satra)

7. Bhogadhar Jaydev Gopal Gathia Manpur Chhaya Thakur
(Senna satra)

Devananda

Bapuram

8. Manpur (adopted) Purandar Ghanakanta Kavi Madhav Kanak

9. Haridhan Mahanta

10. Svargapani Ramesvar Umakanta Ramkanta Kamdeb
Dharmakanta Sandhiram

11. Krishna Ghanakanta Nruti Ananda Lakshmi Golok

12. Gopikanta.

6. Ramdev Thakur

7. Parasuram
(Majbat satra)

Kala Bhagati
(Korchapara satra)

Bapuram
(Andari satra)

Haliram

Kaliram

Gopaldev (adopted)

9. Dayaram Betharam

Jatiram (adopted)
(Solla satra)

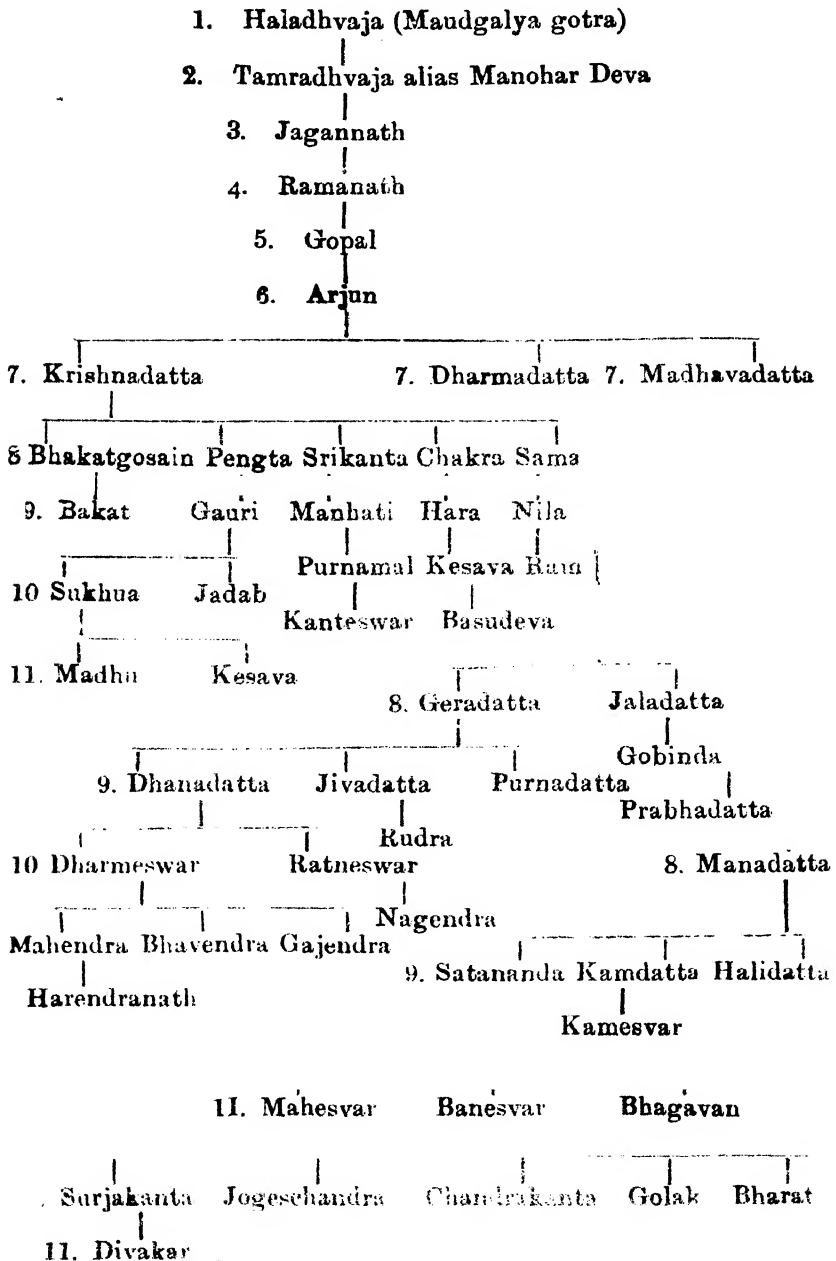
Premkanta

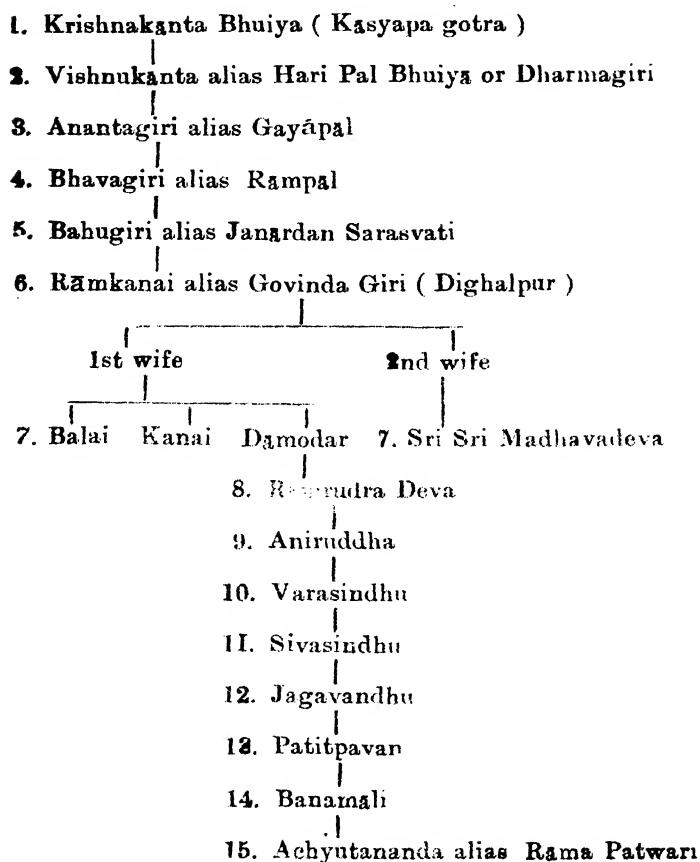
10. Svaigpani (adopted)

Gaurikanta Chandrakanta

11. Krishnakanta his son 12. Gopikanta

* Govinda Ata was a disciple of Sri Madhvadeva. He established Khatara satra encouraged by the Darrang Raja.

Adhikari family of Kshudra Makhibaha (Kamrup)

Pedigree of Govinda Giri Bhuiya*

* Vide Vol. II. Appendix. I. p. 17.

16. Kamdeva Ghanasyam Jagajivana Mohan Raya Deva Raya

18. Harinath

Virasena

Srisen

19. Jaysen

19. Harisen

20. Chandra

Jagat

20. Japra alias Jagatsen

४१. Bhakat

21. Krishna.

19. Kahapani

Ruparam

20 Ramapani

20 Dhirnarayan

21. Satram

Haripad

Kuhiram

21. Srinarayan

22. Jayaram

22. Jagat Arabinda Ramendra

16. Ghanashyam

17. Lakshminath

Ambikanath

18. Bijay

Baliya

Sambhunath

Prithurao

19. Kirtiram

Jitram

19. Raghunath

20. Matiram

20. Gangaram

20. Haliram

21. Koharu Chandicharan

21. Garga

Sanch

Bandhu

achi

22. Kanak

22. $\frac{1}{1}$

Golok

Bapu

22. Chana

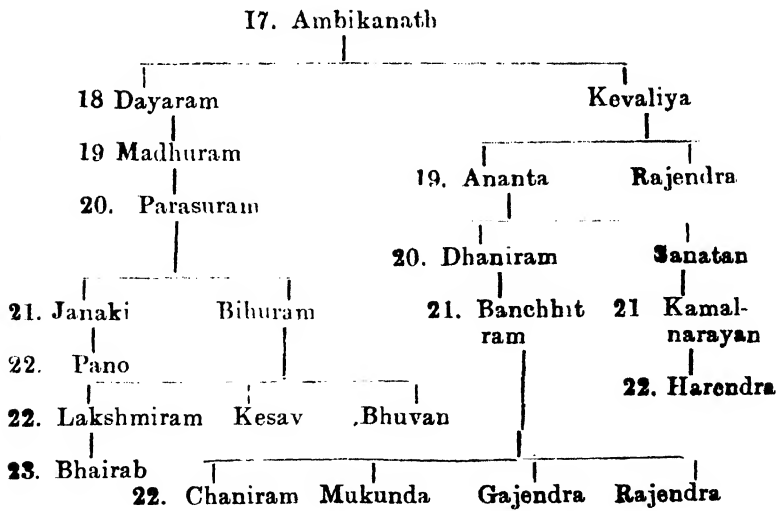
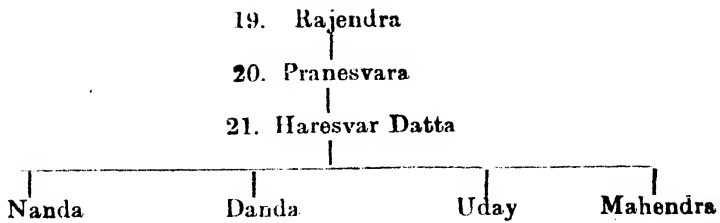
Dasarath

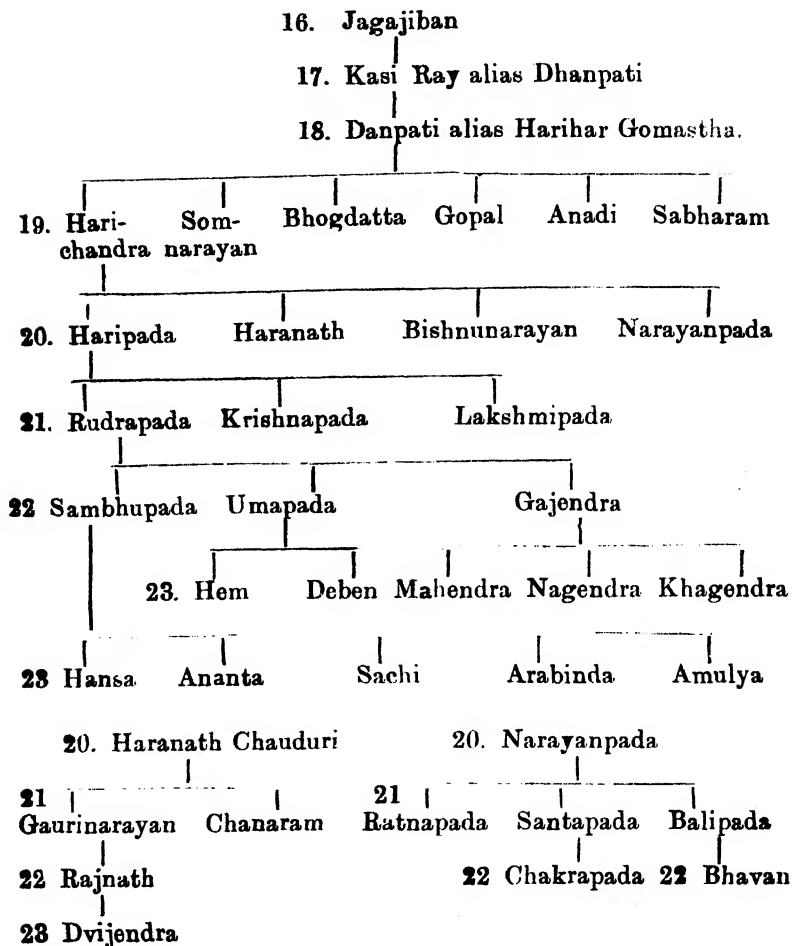
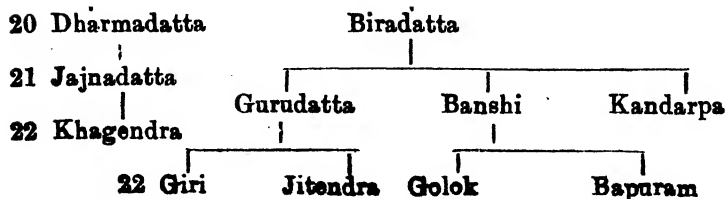
Tarun

Debendra.

History

Patwari family of Pakoa.



Chaudhuri family of Pakoa, branch of Patwari family.**19 Bhogdatta Chaudhuri**

Chaudhuri family of Pakoa,

19 Gopal Narayan Chaudhuri

20 Angad Sivacharan

21 Kalicharan Chaudhuri

22 Ambika Uttam Prabodha Kanak Rama

19. Sabharām Chaudhuri

20 Pusparām Jajnaram Manikram Mahiram

21 Mukunda Gobindarām

Bali Haliram
22 Dandi (Udas)

21 Krishnarām Devirām Durgarām Madhav Lalit

22 Rajata

Tarun

Lakhi

Dharani

Bhrigu

22

Bandhu

Balak

Prafulla

16 Mohana Raya

17 Padma Raya

Sanjaya

Satrughna

18 Sisu Raya

Jayaballabh

Santamani

Bhupati

19 Kānta Raya

20 Karkat Raya Ramballabh Chittaballabh Gajendra Sonārām

20 Kalarām

Hāhirām

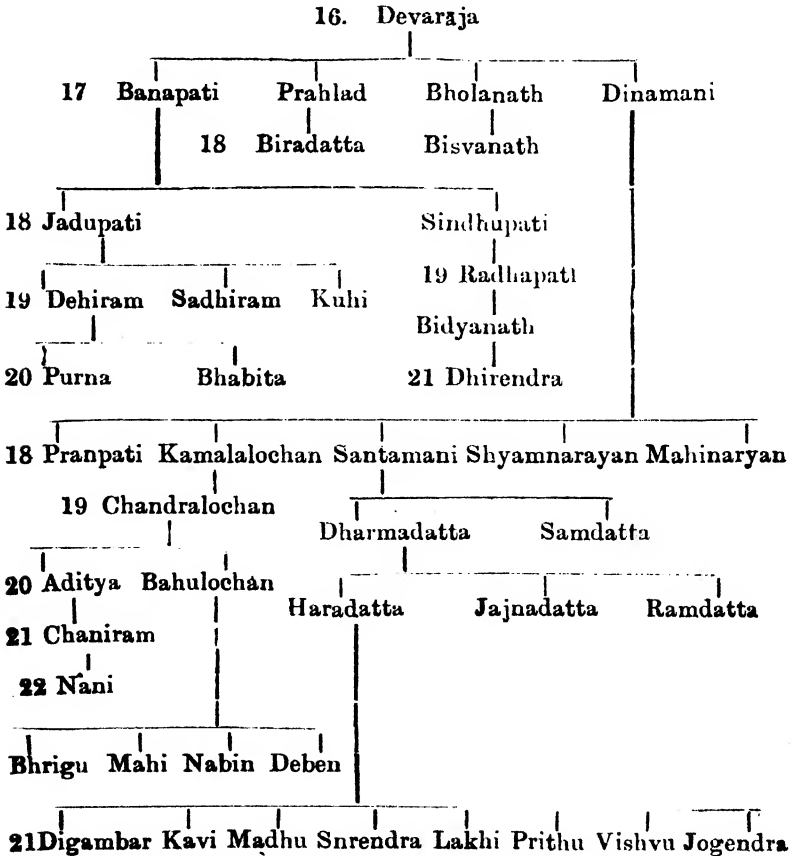
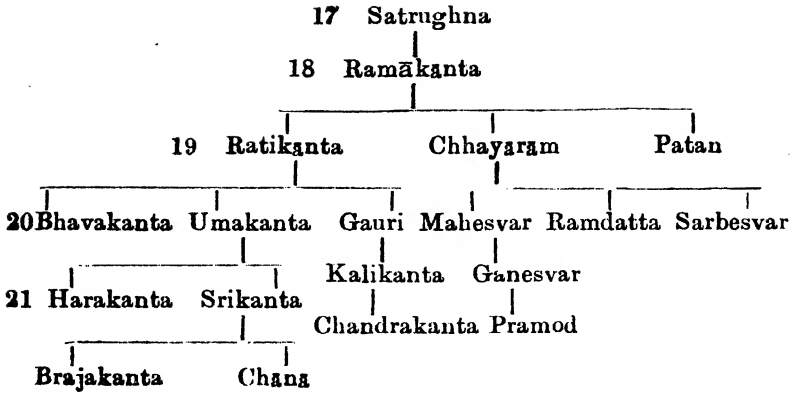
20 Maniram

Kanurām

Amrita

Jaldirām

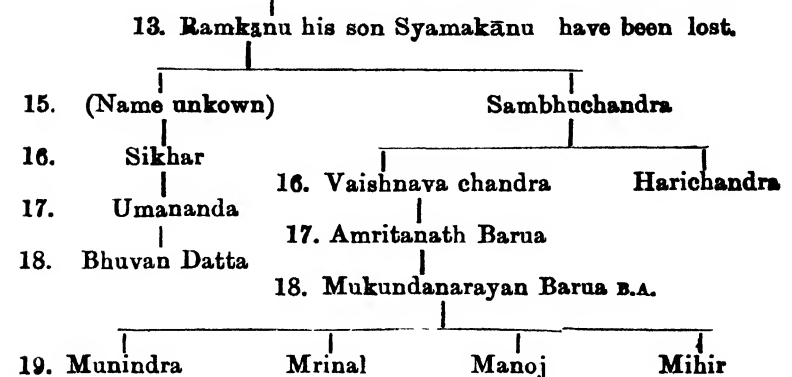
Kanak



Gauripur family of supposed Govindagiri Bhuiya

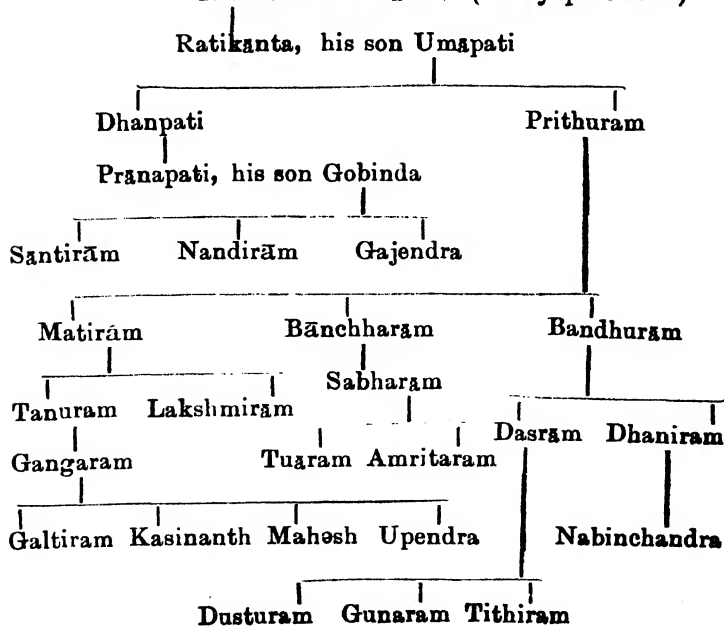
7. Kanai * (Kāsyapa afterwards Ālmyān gotra)

The pedigree of five generation



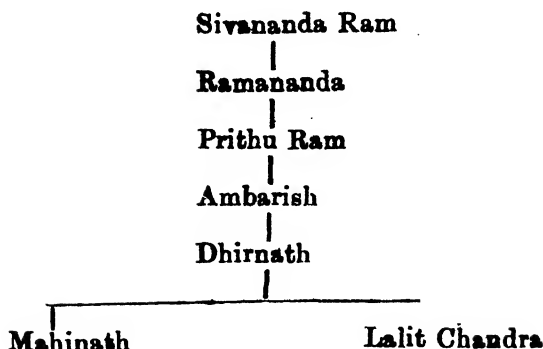
Rāma Pātvari family of Saktipara or Khetripara, Kamrup

Ramachandra Dasa † (Kasyapa Gotra)



* and † see next page.

Second Branch.



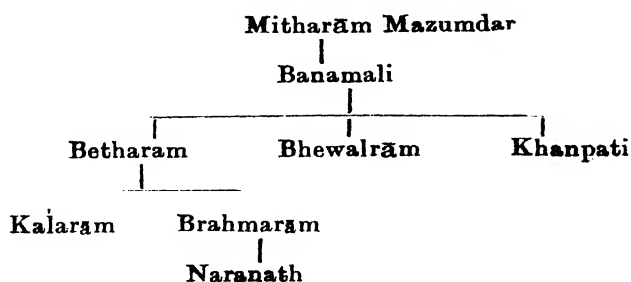
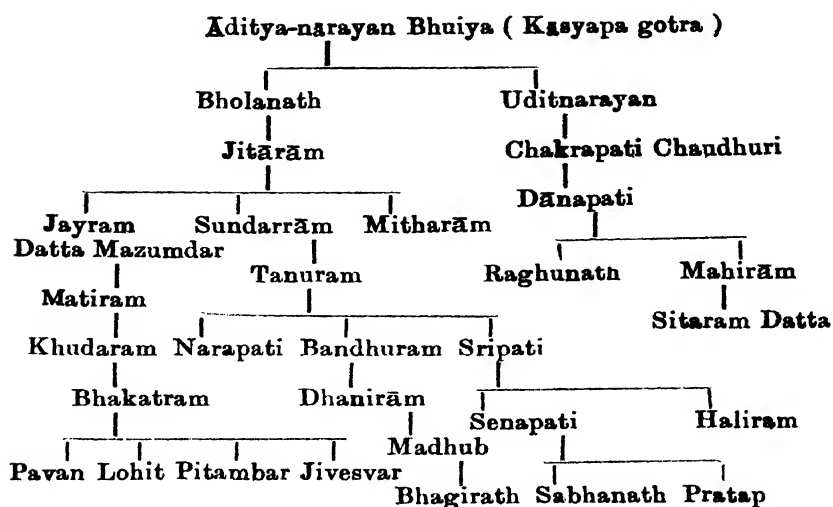
* Vide Vol III. appendix p, 11.

† He was a nephew of Agastirama Dasa, State-physician of Ahom King Rajesvara Sinha, who granted land to Agastiram in recognition of his service. The transcript of the above is given below : Ramachandra and his descendants were hereditary Patwari of Khetripara or Baktipara.

Copper plate grant of Rajesvara Sinha, Saka 1677.

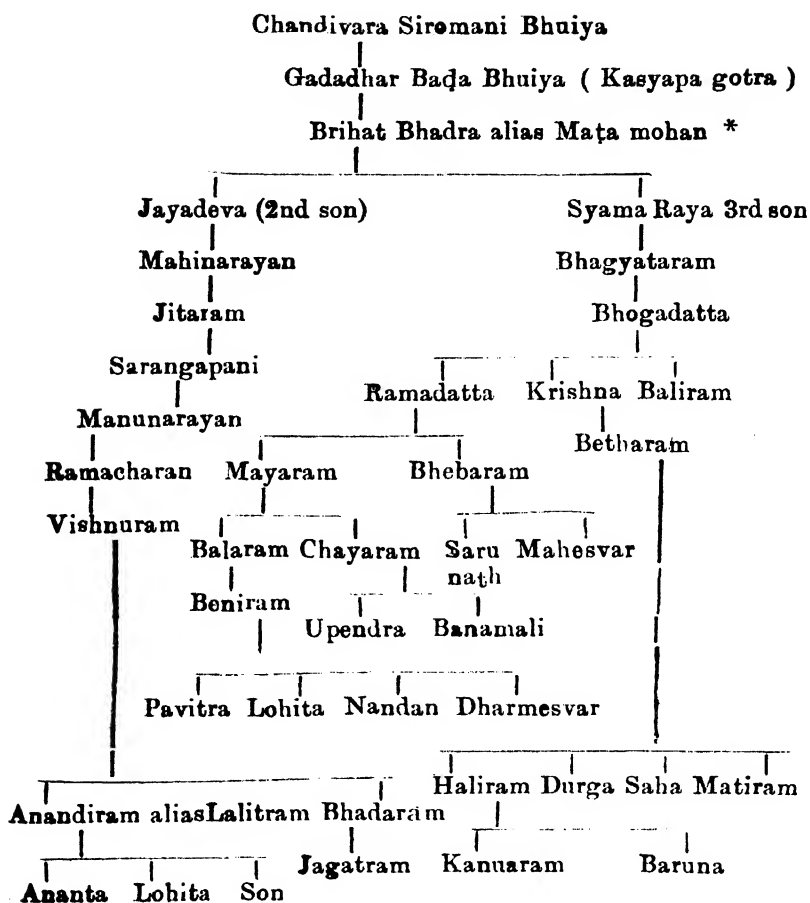
বতি ঈন্দিতকৰ্ণ ভীমভীৰণবিক্রমঃ । ঈৰাজেশ্বৰ সিংহ
ঈৰ্বৰ্ণনাবায়নম্ভূগঃ । অৰং পুণ্যমনাঃ পাত্ৰাঃ কামৰূপে দদামিমাং । অগতি-
রামনানাবাণ্যঃ ভদেতাভূতিবাকিণীঃ । কামৰূপ দেশৰ বড়ুৱা ও ববকাৱহ
ও চৌধাৰি ও পাটোৱাৰি ও তালুকদাৰ ও ঠাকুৰিৱা ও গৱৰহ সকলো সাৱধান
জানিবা খাতা পৰগনাব শান্তিপাৰা গ্ৰাম ও পুৰী দেৱৰ বজালি দক্ষিণে জুনি
পাৰ পশ্চিমে কহাৰ সীমা উত্তৰে মৰানৈ এই চতুৰ্দ্দৰ মধ্যত বোৱাতি মাটি ২ পুৰা
বাড়ি ১ খন আৰু পূৰ্বে বেজেনাতানি দক্ষিণে জান পশ্চিমে চিৰাসৰ সীমা
উত্তৰে কেশুগহ এই চতুৰ্দ্দৰ মধ্যত ১৩ পুৰা বাজে বাব খন আৰু মহমবাত
খাততানি ২ পুৰাই বাপে ১ পুৰা আৰু কটীৱাতানি ৮০ দোন সুঠত মাটি
২০৮০ পৰা বাড়ি ২ খন আৰো ৰূপ ১ টকা এবি বেজ অগতিবাম ভতিজাক
এই ছক দিল । ইহাব কব কাঁটন পৰগকক বেঠ বেগাব জনকব কামদাব
চৌধৰিমাণা খুৰচি মাড়োৱা দত্ত বৰ দামবত সৰ্ব্বদাৰ পৰিত্যাগ হল । এই
মাসিবাড়ি বৈজব পুত্ৰ পৌজাদি ক্ৰমে উপভোগ কৰি থাকিব । ইহাত কোনো
কমে অত্যা নকৰিব । ইতি শক ১৬৭৭ ।

**Mazumdar family of Parakuchi, Mauza Sarukhetri,
District Kamrup.**



* Raja Siva Sinha granted 20 pura of rent-free land and slaves. The land is still enjoyed by the family.

Cnauthuri family of Namabarabhog (Makhibaba)

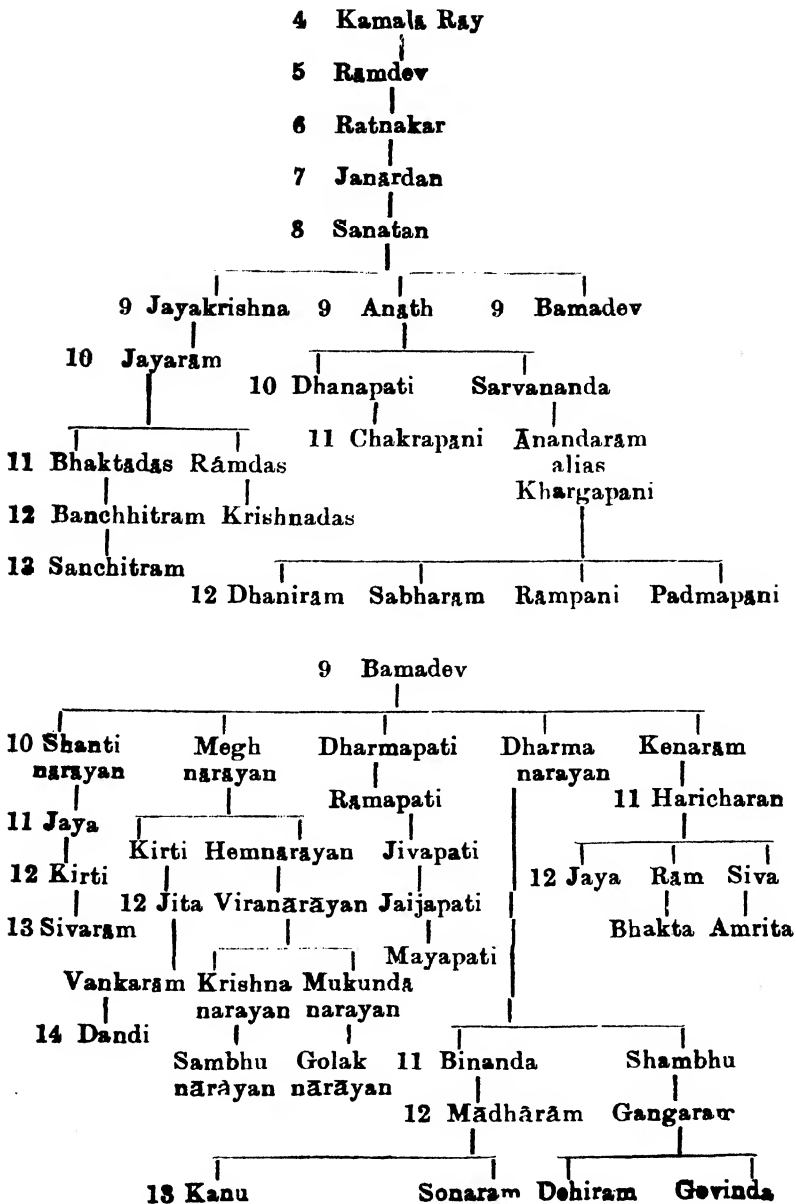


* Vide Vol. II, appendix I. p, 6 for his other branch.

Family of Rāma Raya of Pakoa

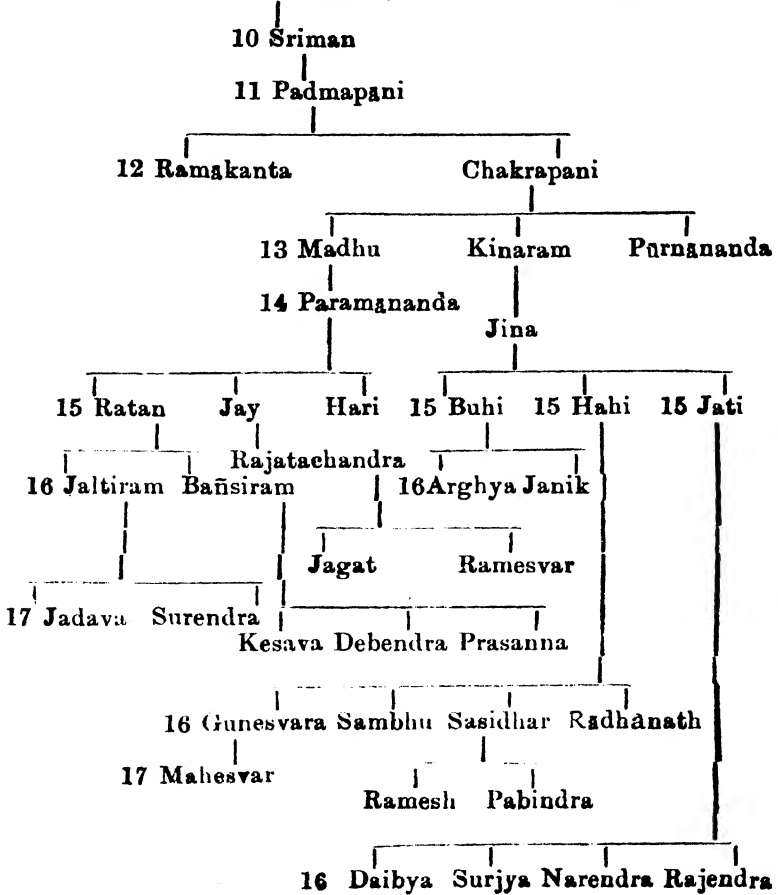


* First settled at the village of Kholra in Nanbarahya mauza having grants of land from the king of Assam and afterwards settled at the village Sakra.



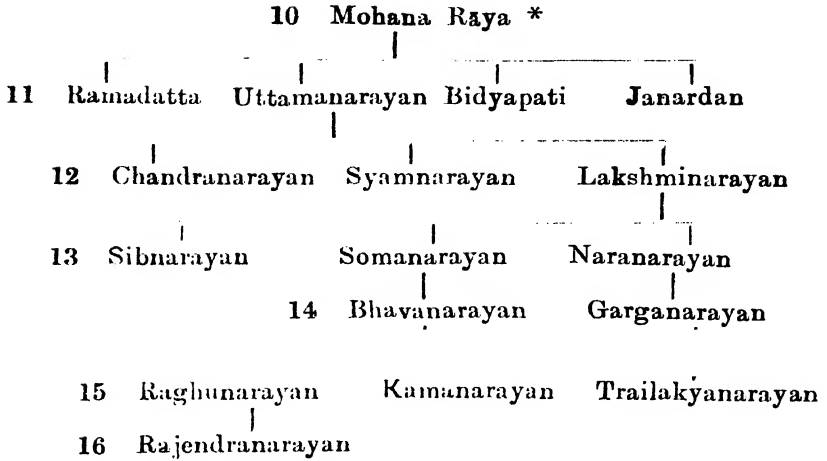
Descendants of Narayana Gamtha (Kasyapa gotra)

1 Narayan, his son 2 Bhagiratha, his son 3 Daityari, his son
4 Umananda, his son 5 Kamapal, his son 6 Sricharan and
Ratikānta.

9 Sricharan Deka (6th from Narayana)

Pedigree of Mohana Raya (Kasyapa Gotra)

(6th from Narayan gamtha)



* Mohan Raya got nankar or rent-free land from Ahom King Siva Sinh vby Copperplate grant dated Saka 1664, Jyestha 4th, as following.

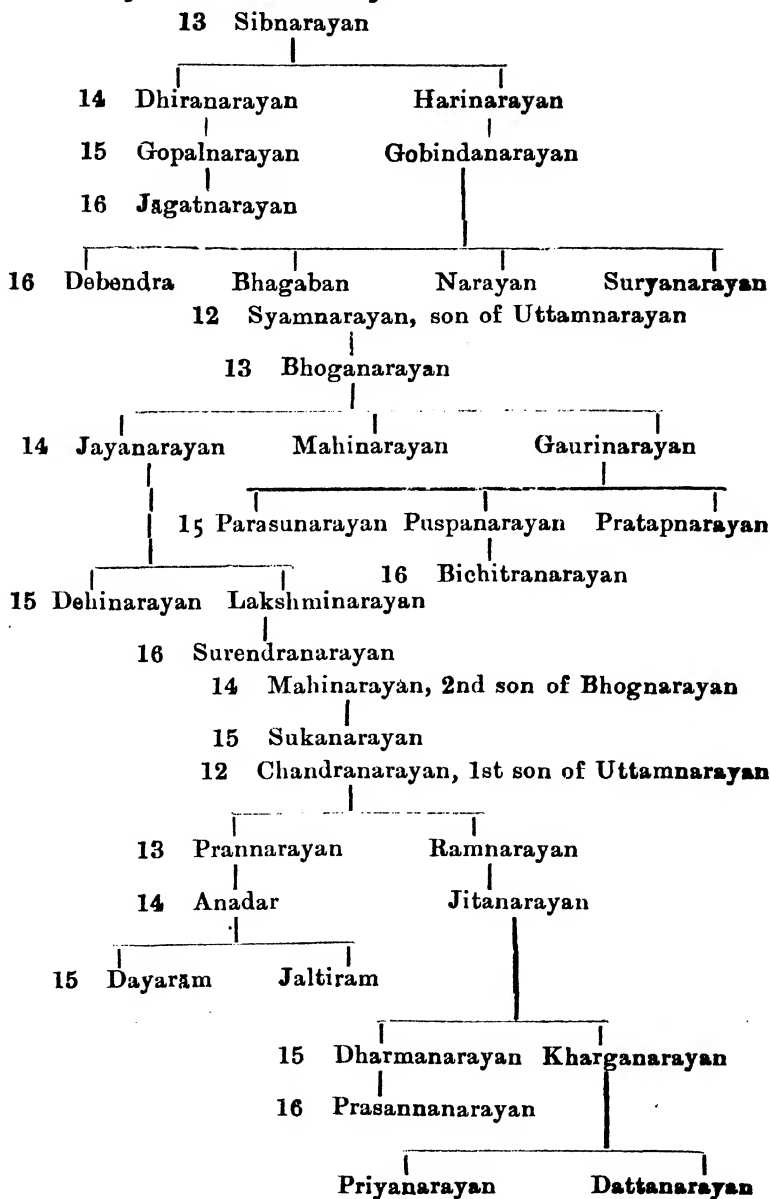
শ্রীশ্রীহরিঃ

দত্তঃ শ্রীশিবসিংহ নাম নৃপতেঃ পুণ্যার্থমুৰ্ব্বীভূজাং
মৌলিনাগণনাংকতশ্রীযুগলস্বৰ্গাধিপ যন্ত বৈ ।
এবা তান্নফলী বিচিহ্নকুশলিনী তারিণী সদ্দেশতে
যন্ত্রিশ্রীবৎসাকুলজাতকে নাদিতেন বাজসেবয়া ॥

শক ১৬২৪ । ৪ জ্যৈষ্ঠ ।

কামৰূপ দেশৰ বৰদা বৰকায়স্থ ও চৌধাৰী পাটোবাৰী ও তালুকদাৰ চাকৰিগণ সকলে সাবধানে জানিব কোমৰভাগ পূবপাৰ পৰগণাৰ মাৰে গাঁওত হাবি ২০ পূবা কোকৰিয়াত ২০ লেজাত লাল ২০ বটি সাৰে গাঁওত ১০ কোকৰিয়াত লাল ৭ মাৰে গাঁওত ৩ ইঠজ ৮০ পূবা মাটি মোহনৰায়স্বৰ্গ নানকাৰ ফলিকাদি দিয়া গল । ইহাৰ কৰ কটাল পঞ্চক বেষ্ঠ বেগুৰ চোৰ চিন না ধুমানি মাড়োসা জলকণ বৰফাৰ সৰ্ক বাণ পৰিত্যাগ হইল ।

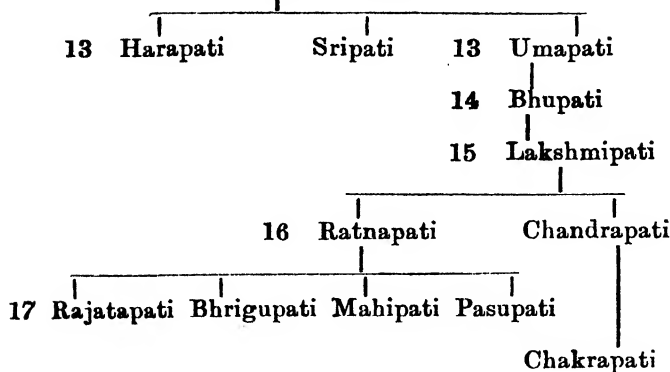
সন ১৬৬৪ জ্যৈষ্ঠ তাৰ ৪

Family of Mohana Rāya

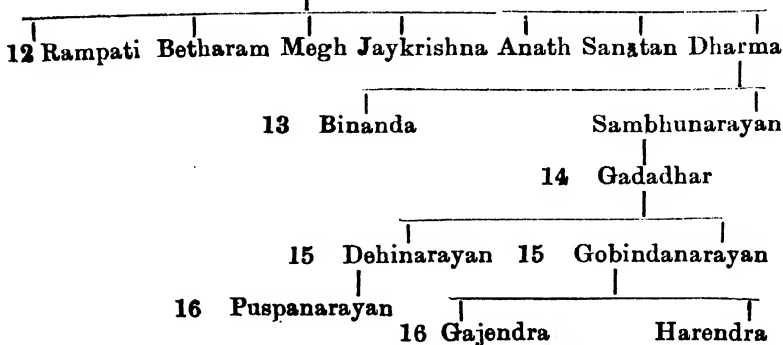
Family of Mohana Rāya

11 Vidyapati, 3rd son of Mohan Raya
(alias Baila Mohanta founder of Satsangi Satra)

12 Ganapati Raya

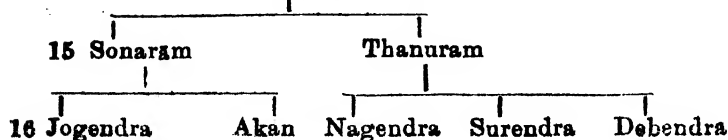


11 Janardan Raya, 4th son of Mohana Raya



13 Binanda Raya, (eldest son of Dharmanarayan)

14 Madhavaram Raya



Family of Mohana Rāya

12 Rampati (eldest son of Janardan)

13 Jibapati

14 Māyapati

15 Arunchandra

12 Betharam (2nd son of Janardan)

13 Haricharan

14 Ramcharan

Sibcharan

Jayacharan

14 Gauricharan

Amritanarayan

Lalitcharan

12 Meghnarayan, (3rd son of Janardan)

3 Hemnarayan

Kirtinarayan

14 Virnarayan

14 Jitanarayan

14 Krishnanarayan

Bishnu

Mukunda

Golok

15 Bandhuran

16 Sambhunarayan

16

Udayram

Kantiram

Dandiram

12 Jayakrishna (4th son of Janardan)

13 Jayaram

14 Bhaktdas

Rāmdas

15 Krishnadas

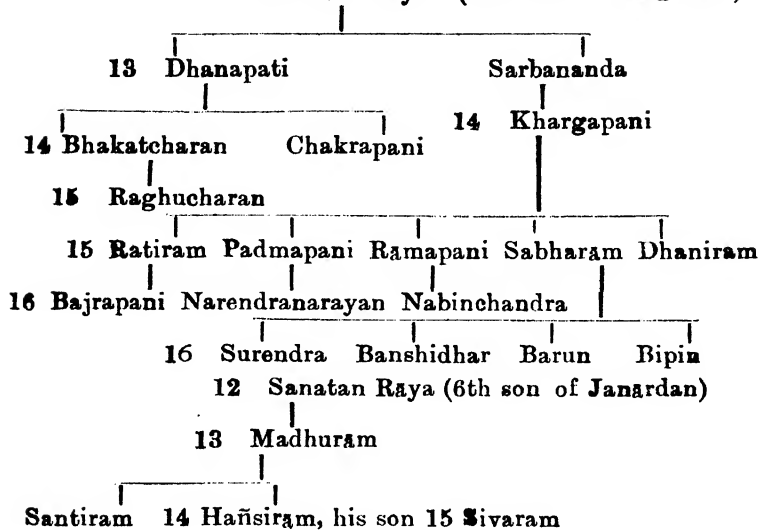
Banchhitaram

16 Siddhanath

Sanchhitaram

Family of Mohana Rāya

12 Anath Rāya (5th son of Janardan)

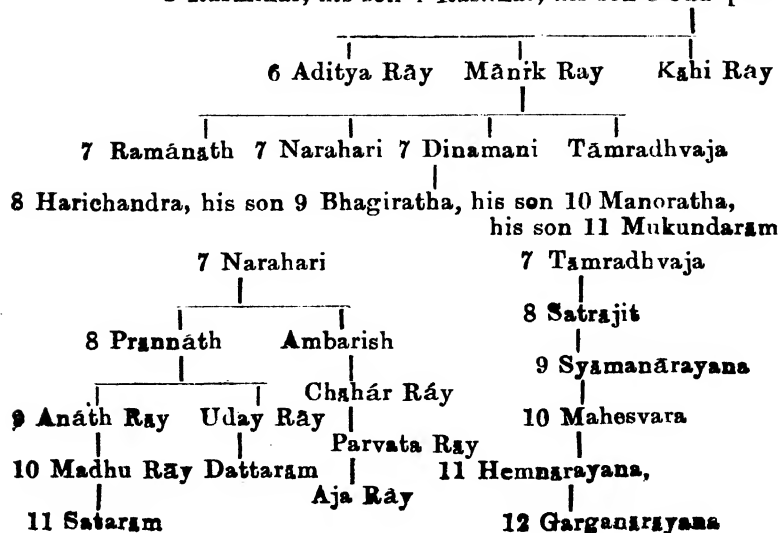
**Family of Daibar Rāy**

1 Daibar Rāy (Kasyapa gotra)

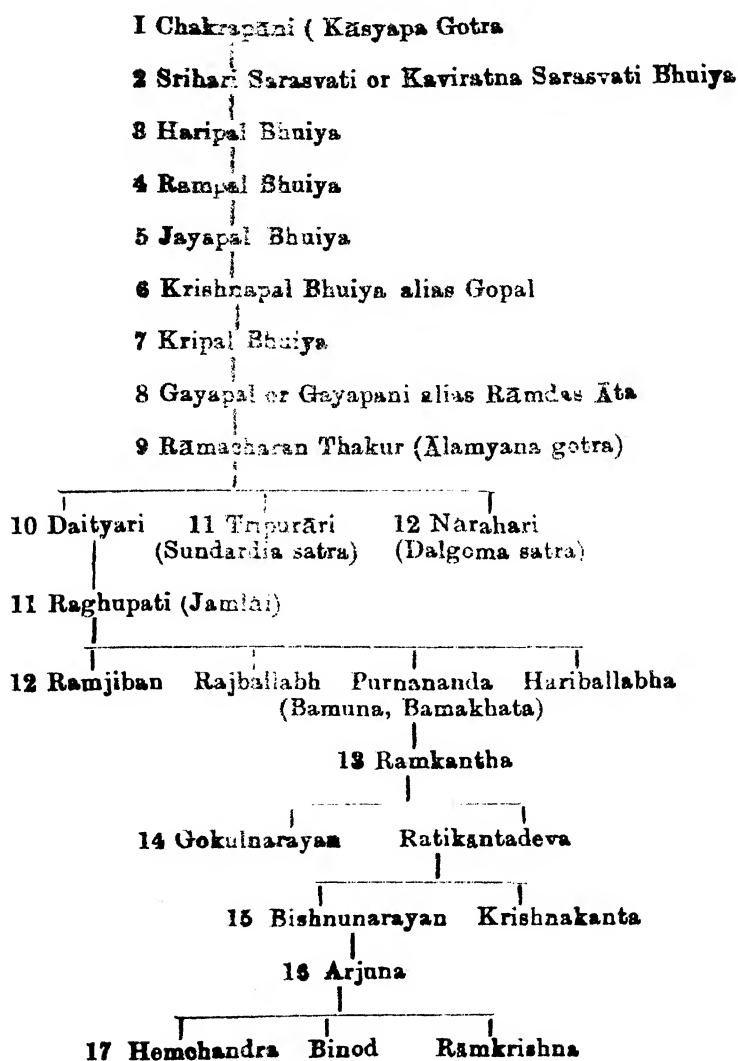
(descendant of Padma Rāy,

2 Dvaita Rāy Balikoria)

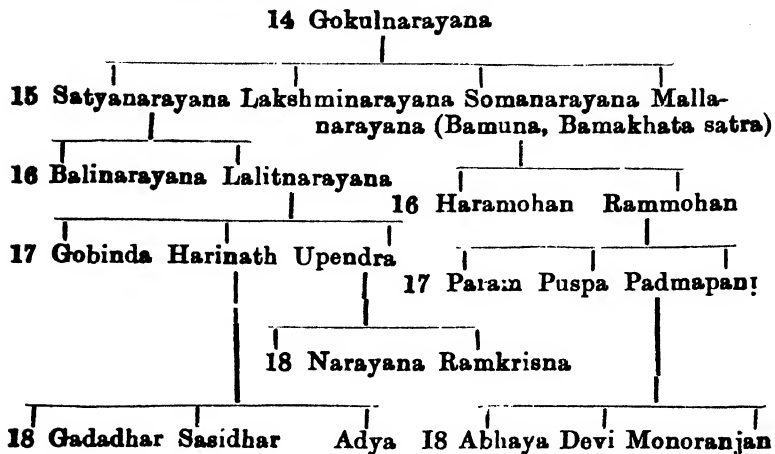
3 Rasmikar, his son 4 Rasākār, his son 5 Jadupati



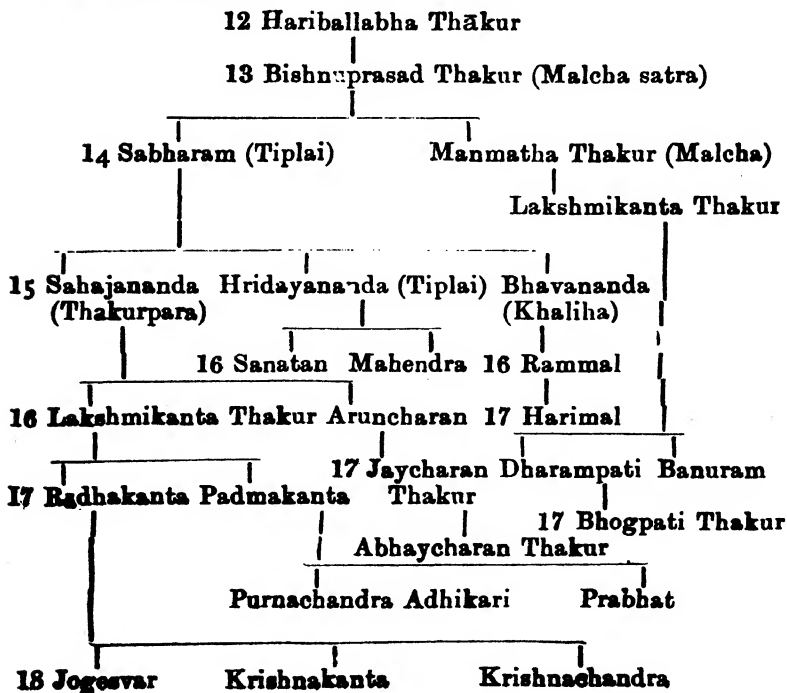
**Pedigree of Ramacharan Thakur (originally Kāsyapa,
afterward Alamyāna gotra)**

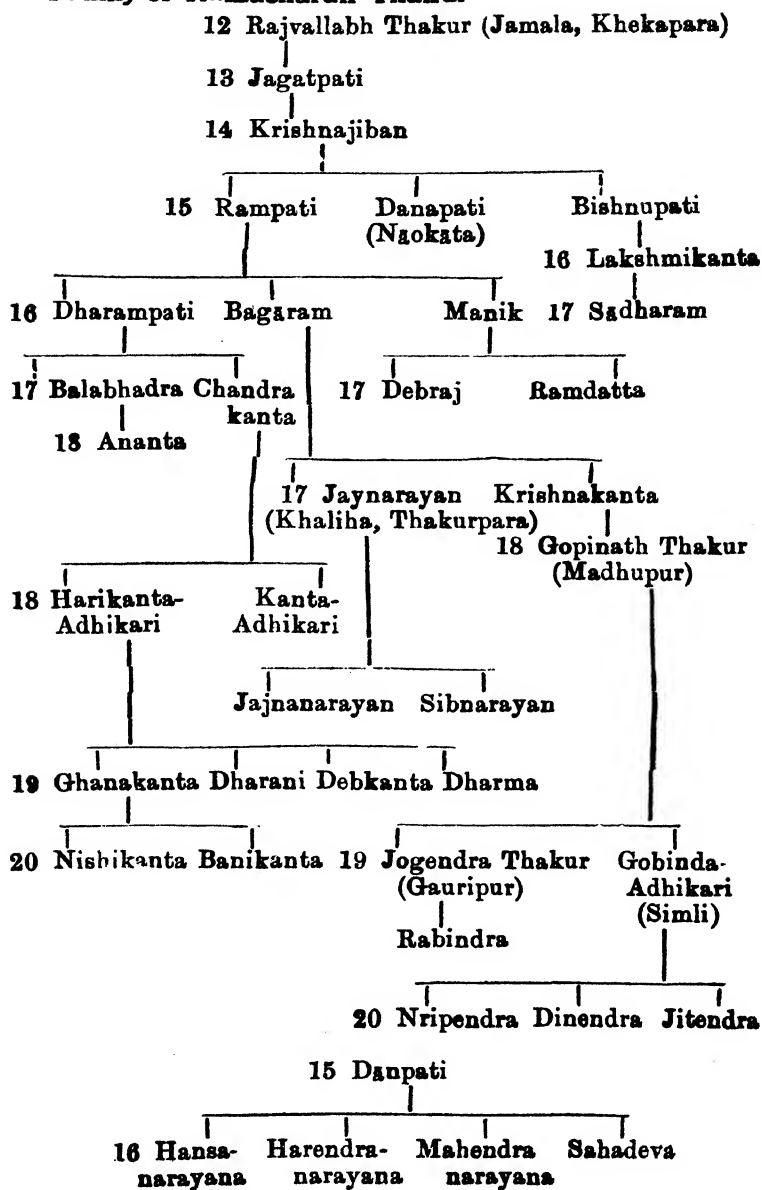


Family of Ramacharan Thakur.



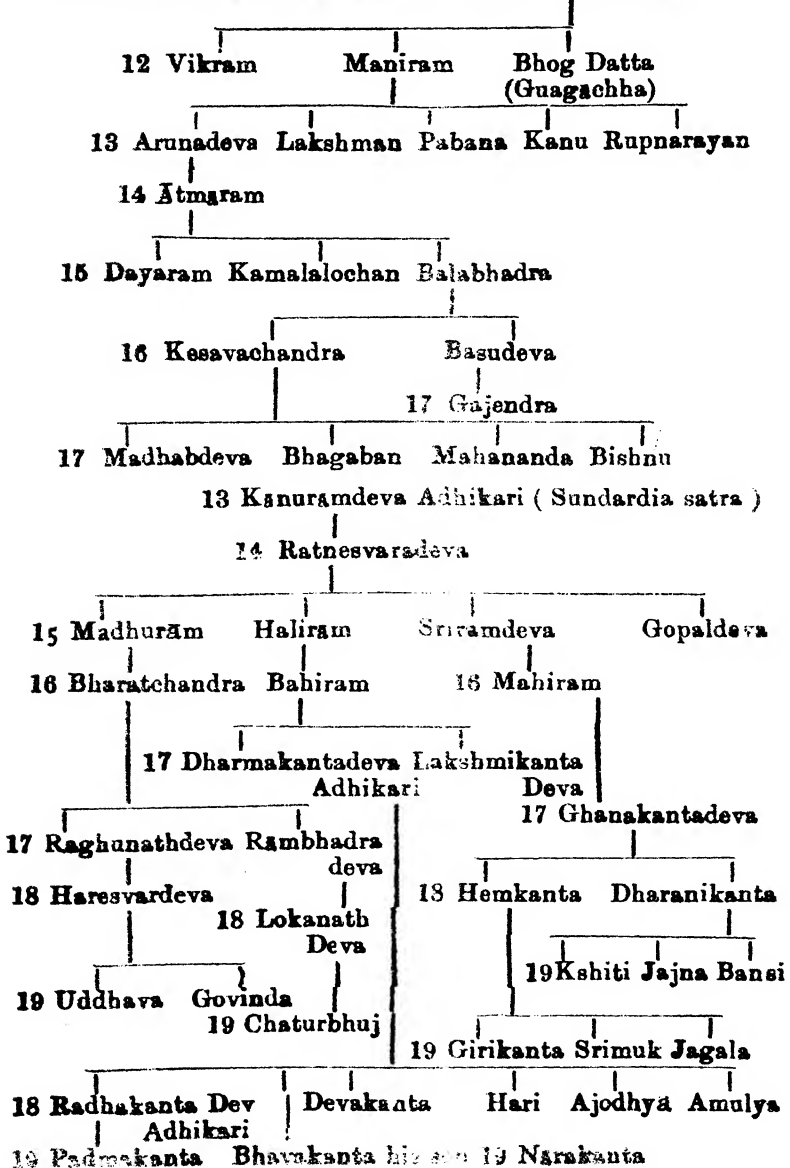
Family of Ramacharan Thakur

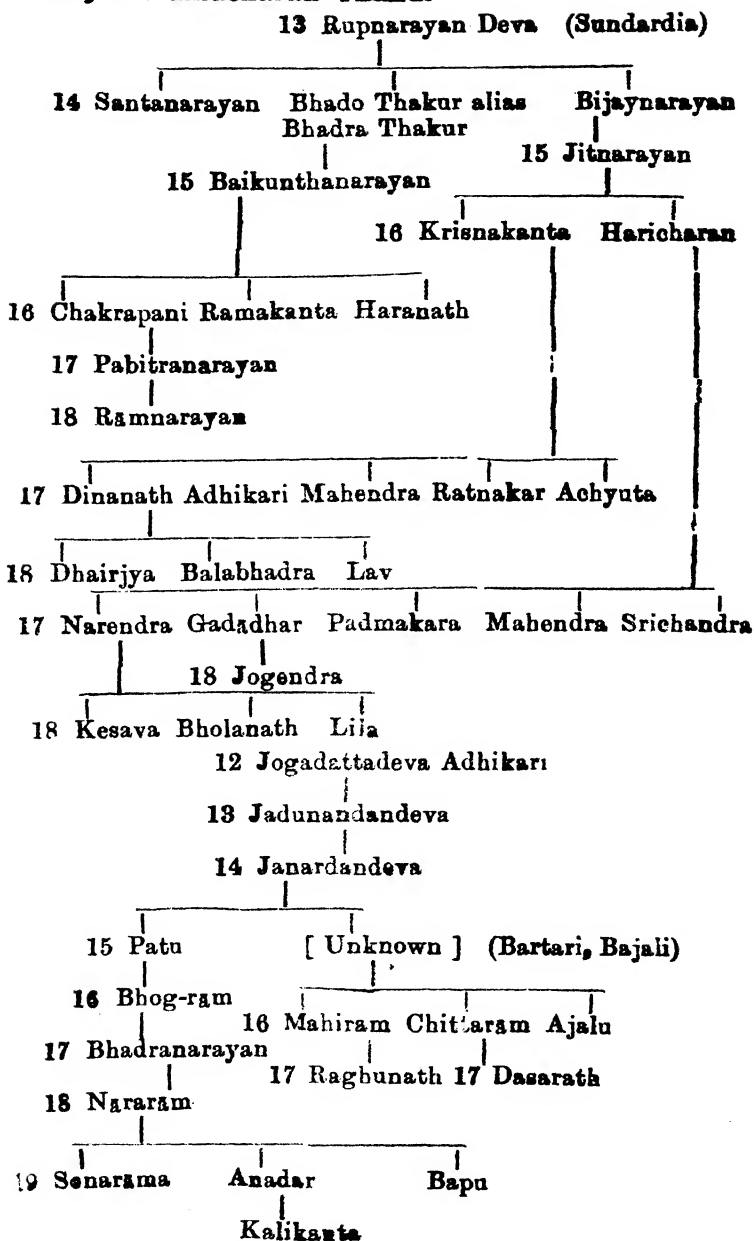


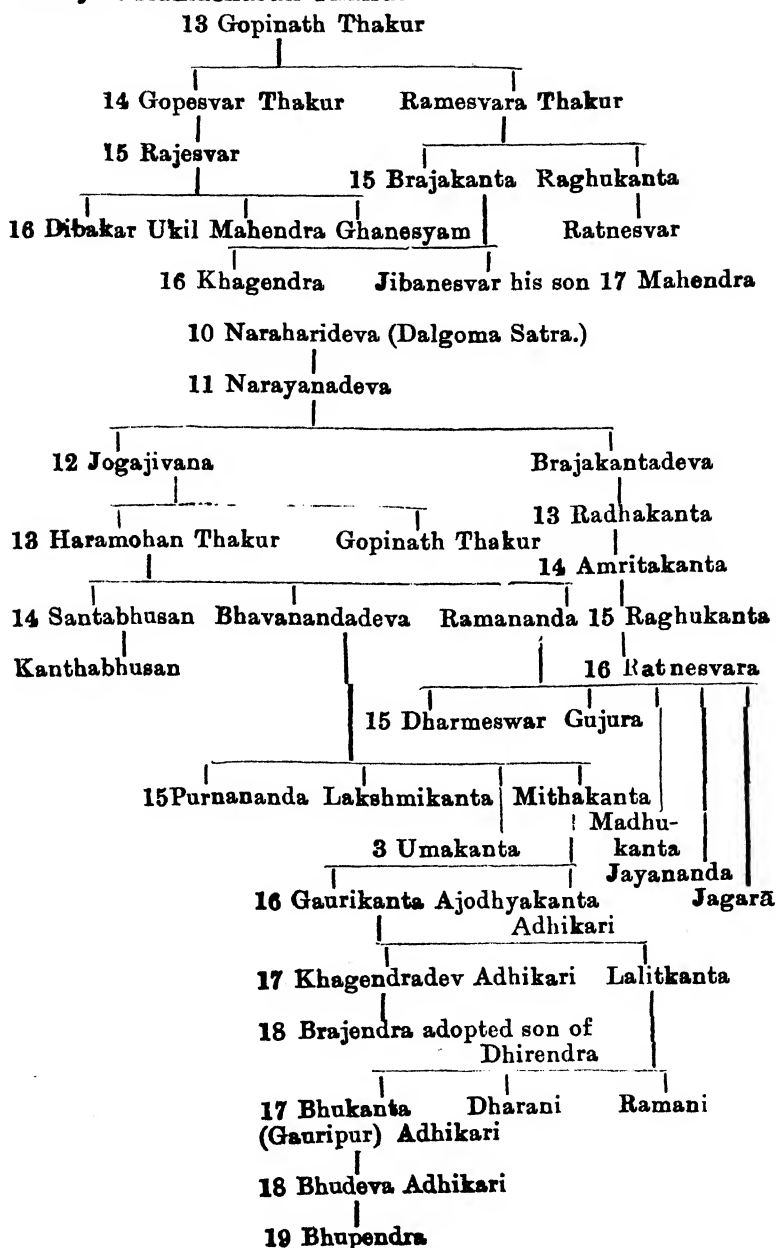
Family of Rāmacharan Thakur

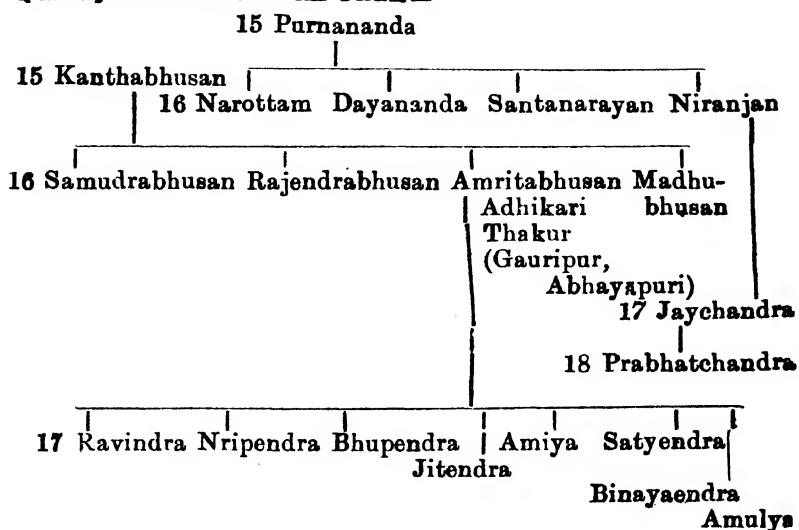
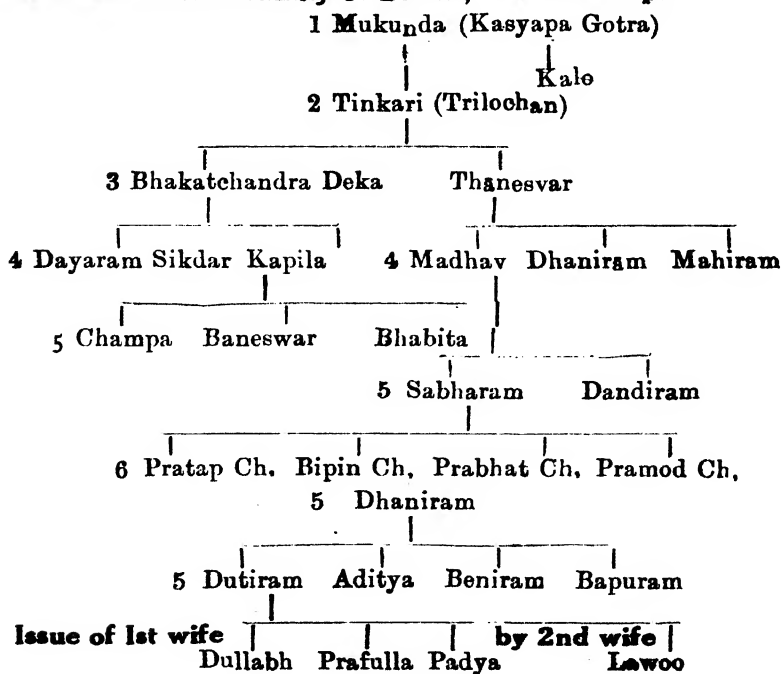
Family of Rāmacharan Thakur

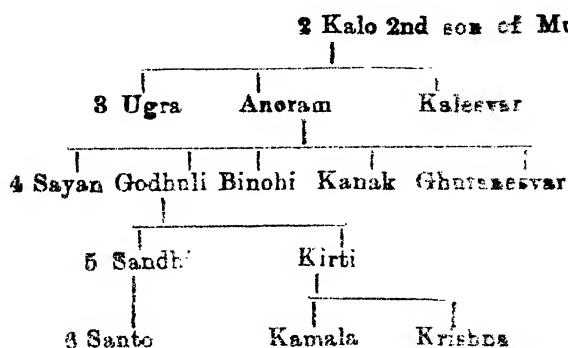
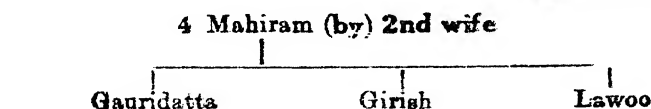
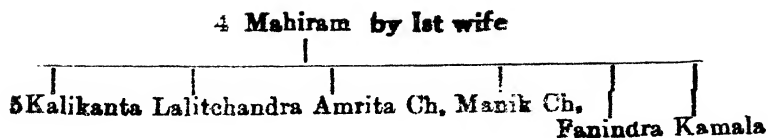
10 Triparari (Sundardia Satra) his son 11 Sarangapani



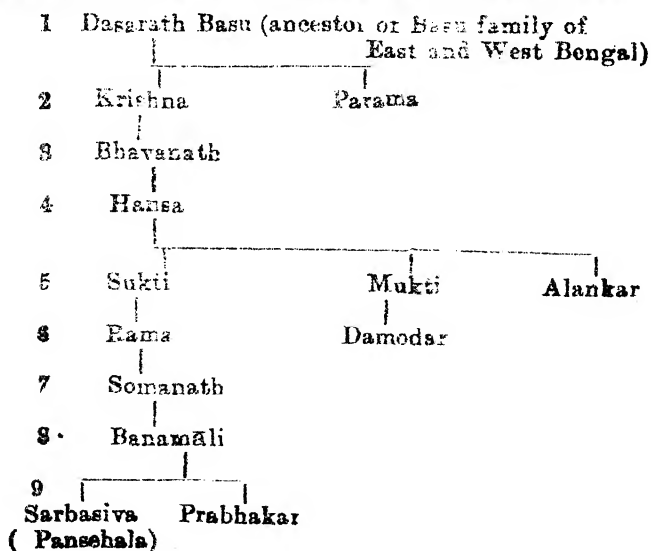
Family of Ramacharan Thakur

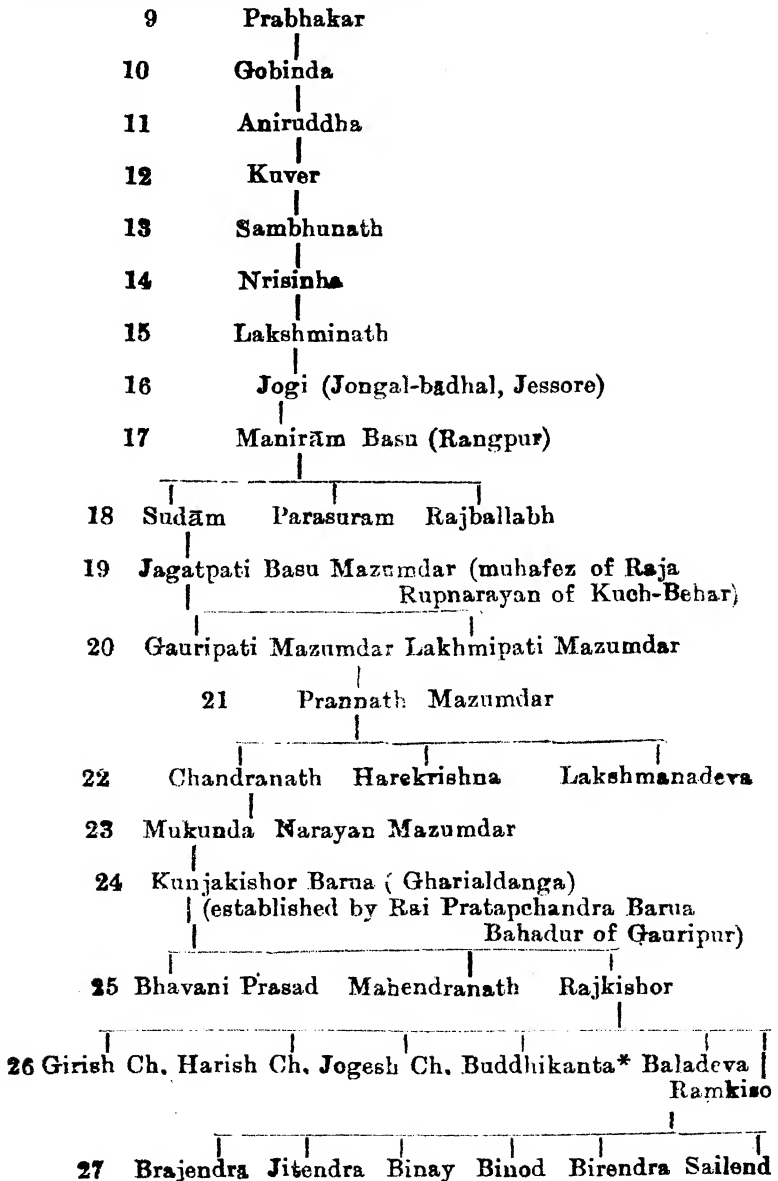
Family of Ramacharan Thakur

Family of Ramacharan Thakur**Deka and Sikdar family of Belsar, Dist Kamrup.**

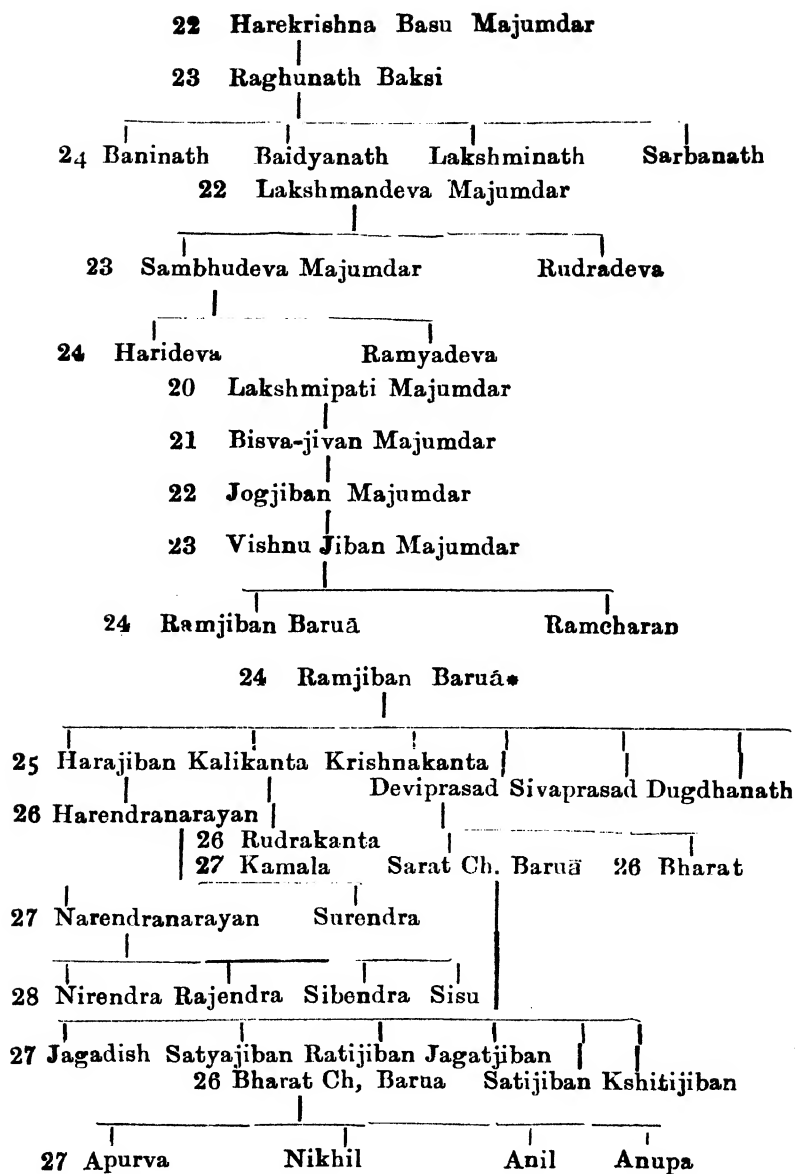


Rasu Barua family of Gauripur (Gautama Gotra)

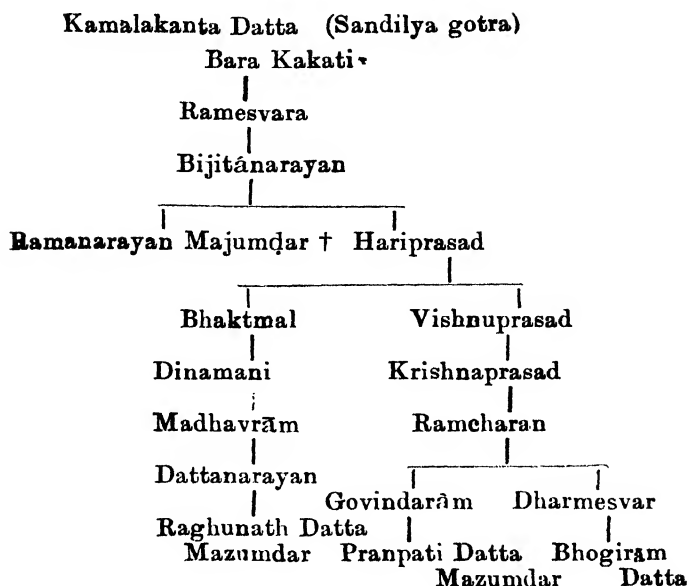


Basu Barua family of Gauripur

* Alias Raja Prabhat Chandra Barua Bahadur (Rani Tarinipriy Devi, wife of late Rai Pratap Chandra Barua Bahadur took him as an adopted son). Vide Vol. II. Pedigree of Gauripur Raj.



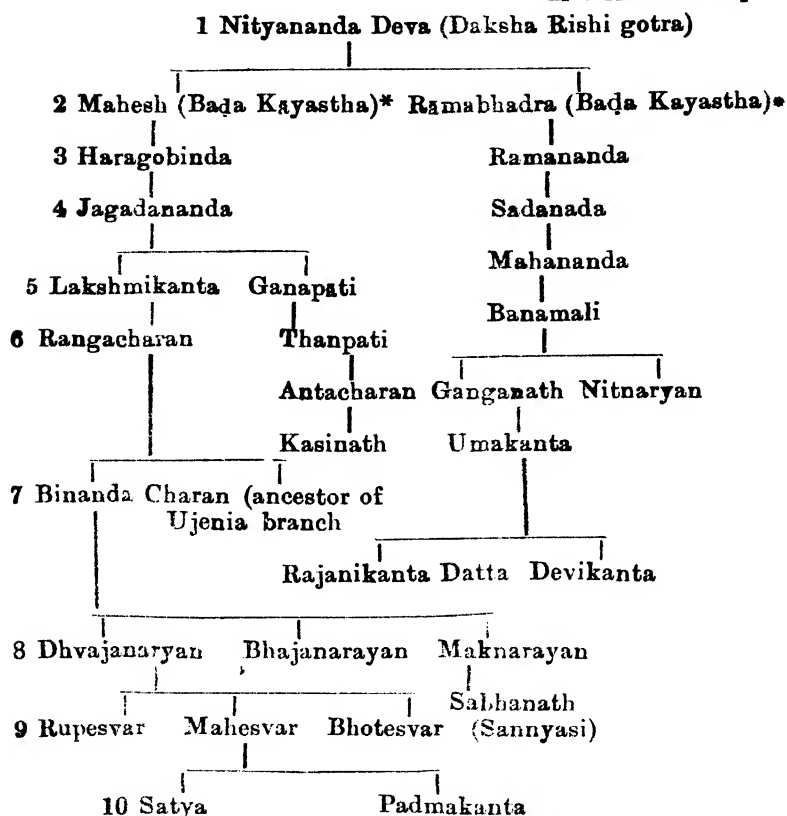
* His Zamindari in Kuch Behar State put to sale for wear of rent.
He was settled at Simli Kamli (Pargana Ghul/a) by Raja Birchandra
Barua of Gauripur.

Datta Mazumdar family of Dharamtala

* Kamalakanta—established by King Narayanarayan and Chila Ray with the title of Bara-Kakati or the chief-secretary.

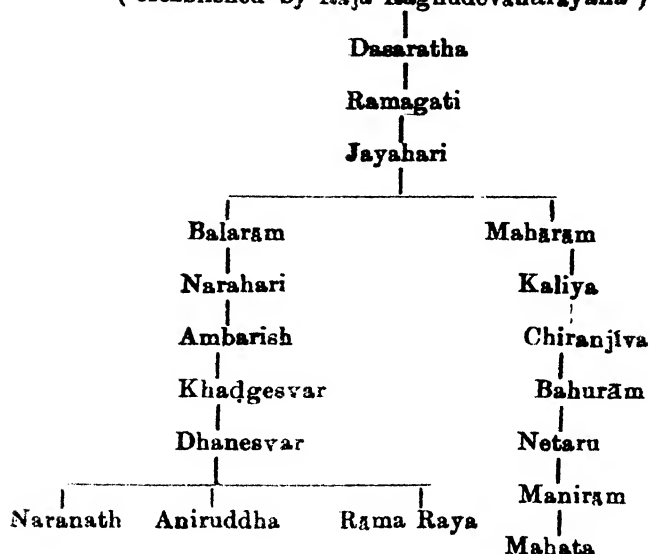
† He received copperplate grant dated 12th sravan 1711 Saka by Raja Silva-sinha. Raja Gauzinath also granted him rent-free land with paiks and attendants.

**Family of Nityananda deva of Purvapara Mauza
district Kamrup**

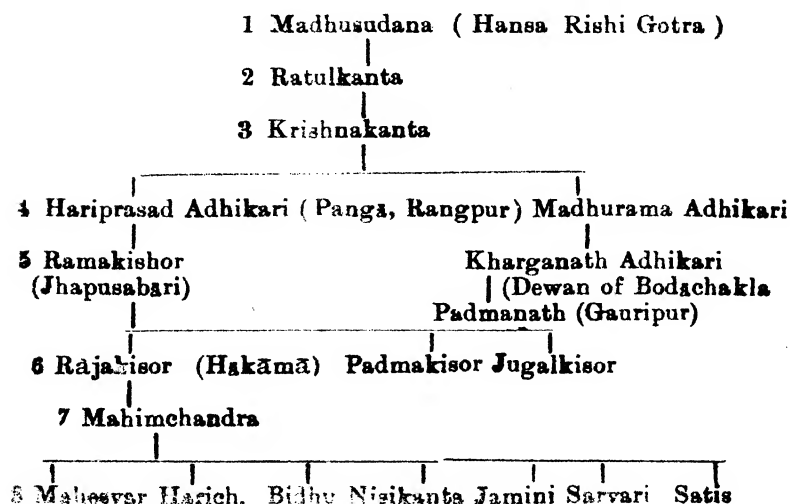


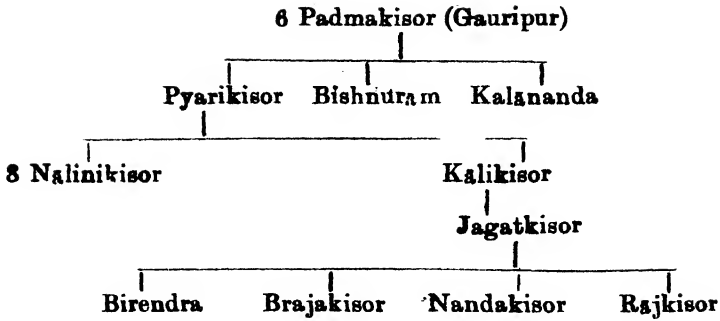
* Mahesh and Ramabhadra both of them were the Chief secretary of King Sivasinha. The King granted them 50 pura of rent-free land for their service and vast learning.

Murari Barua (Vatsya Gotra)
(established by Raja Raghudevanārsyana)

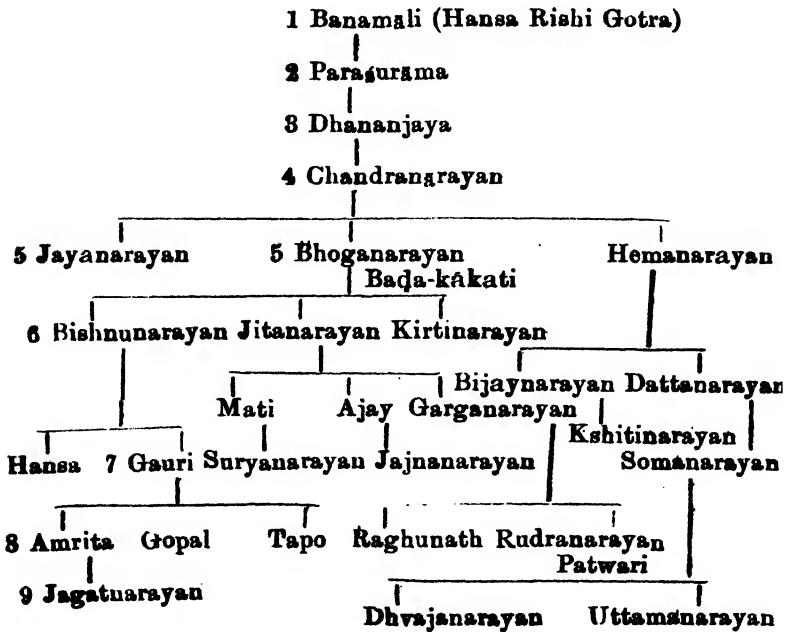


The Adhikari Barua family of Panga & Gauripur.

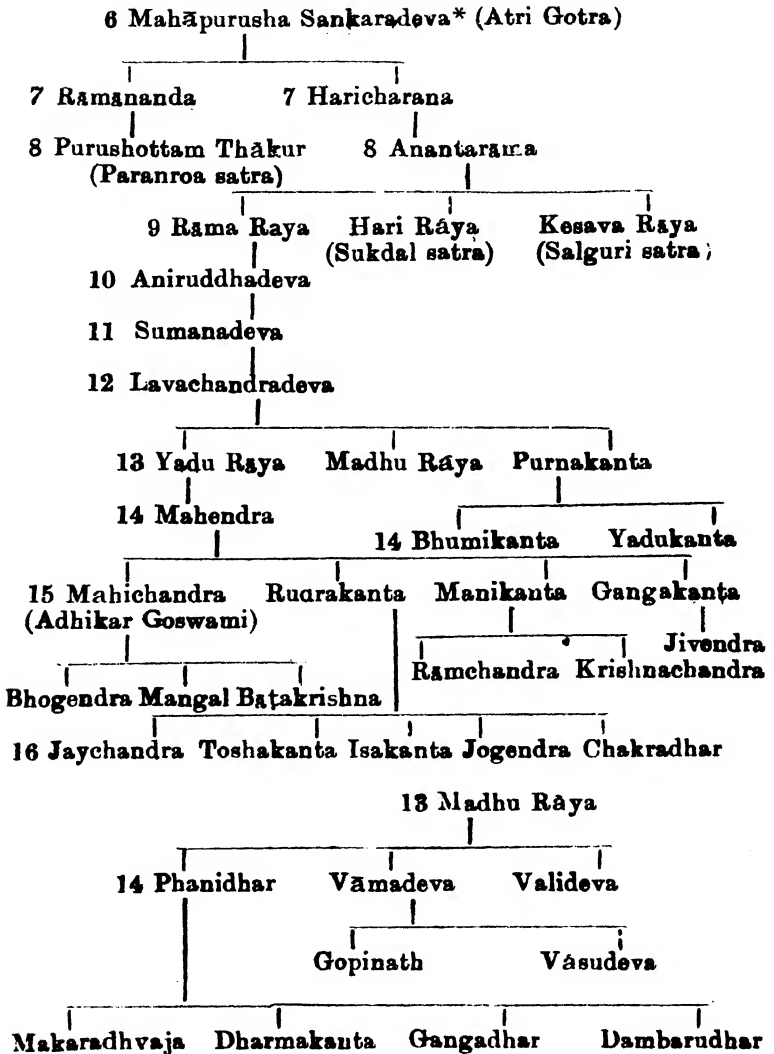




Baḍa kākati family of Sangeli



**Family of Sankara Deva of Koamara Satra,
Sibsagar District.**



APPENDIX IV.

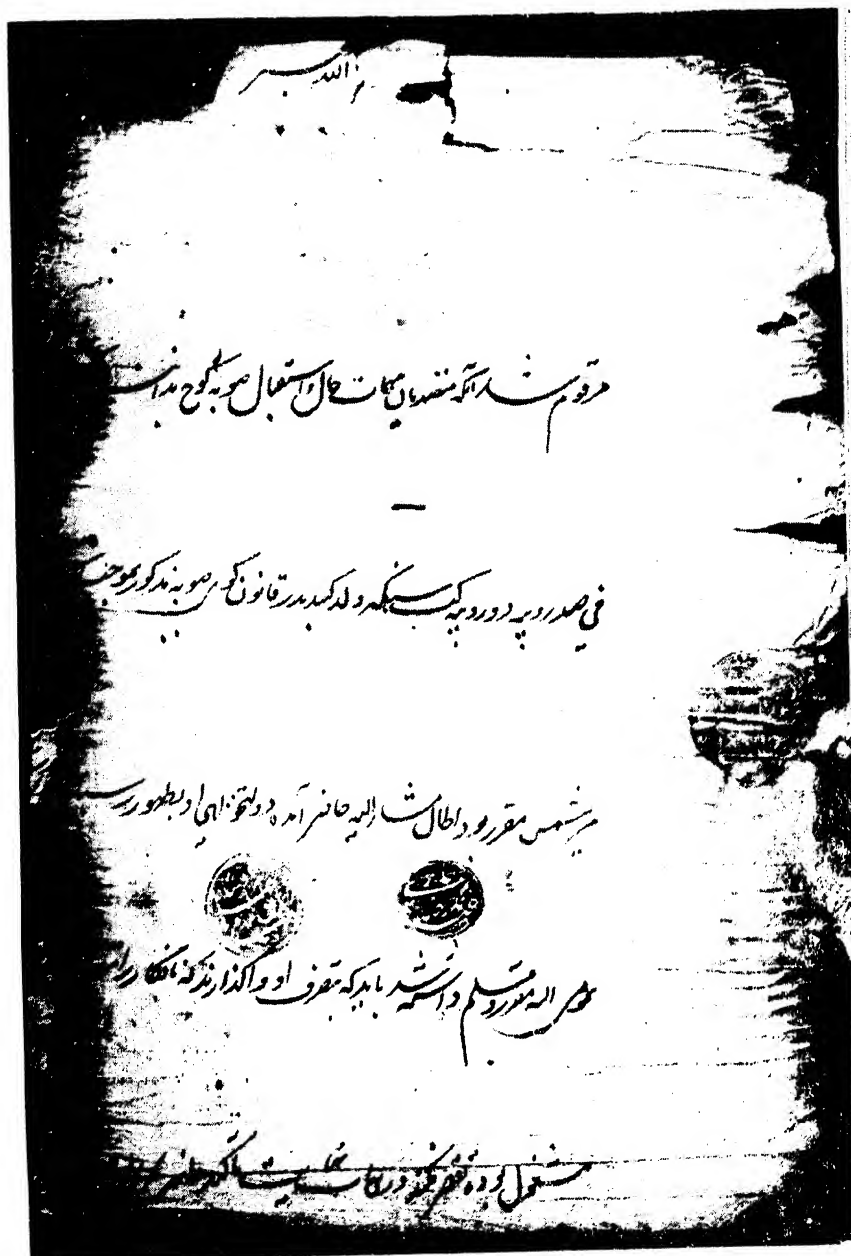
A few words in connection with Gauripur Raj

It is written in connection with the ancestors of Gauripur Raj :—"One of the many *Sanads* of which Kavisekhara* was a recipient at the hands of Jahāngir, reconfers on him those revenue-free lands which were once bestowed on his predecessor by the previous Emperor. Greatly pleased with his administrative skill, the Emperor Jahāngir further granted him a *Sanad* in 1045 H. (1635 A.D.) by which extensive revenue-free estates were added to his already considerable possessions." The title of Raja by which Kavisekhara was decorated by the Imperial *Sanad* is still used by his successors (Vide Social History of Kāmarupa, Vol. II. p. 171, 172.)

The exact facsimile † and translation of the said *Sanad* is herein reproduced and printed for perusal.

* Vide Vol II, app. II, p. 72 for the geneology of Jayananda, son of Kavivallabha, brother of Raja Kavisekhar.

† See next page for the facsimile of the original.



FACSIMILI OF THE ROYAL GRANT.

Translation of the Sanad

Dated the 24th (torn)

Almighty Shah Muhammad Shuja Bahadur,
son of Saheb-Karansani Shah Jahan Badshah
Ghazi.

In the name of God, the most merciful and
the most compassionate.....(Illegible)

At this time an edict has been received to the
effect that Jiananda son of Kab Ballab, brother
of Raja Kab Sekhar Kanoongo. has with the
assistance of the honoured personages who
had access to the Court (of His Majesty) the
asylum of the Universe, made a representation
to His Majesty that, from time immemorial,
the post of Kanoongo of Vilayet Kooch Hajo,
Assam, was held by Kab Sekhar, that on his
death Kabrattan (torn) held the aforesaid post
and (torn) enjoyed the income by virtue of the
same, being the share of (torn) and that (erased)
Kabrattan Kanoongo (erased) Hemnarain. had
turned a rebel.

The order of His Imperial Majesty appoin-
ting Jianand son of Kab Ballab to the post of
the Kanoongo of Vilayet Kooch Hajo is there-
fore proclaimed and given effect to. It is requi-
red that the present and future Motasaddis
of legal affairs, Motokaffels, (torn) Hakims,
Jaigirdars and Karoris should consider the
above-named person as the permanent Kanoon-
go of Vilayet Kooch Hajo and should not
give way to any change or alteration in the
rules of the said office (torn) and should act in
consultation with him and should not act
contrary to his advice and counsel which is
always calculated to tend to the economy of the
Government and to the prosperity of the ryots

and to the increase in the population of the said Vilayet and that they should leave at his disposal all fees, *Dastur* and *Nankar* appertaining to the office of the Kanoongo according to the old practice so that he might appropriate the same to his own use and with perfect ease of mind supervise the office of the Kanoongo without the partnership of any body and keep himself engaged in taking steps for the cultivation of the said Taluqa (törn) and should be present at Chabootra (törn)

Dated the 24th (törn) •

In the teeth of the fact that an ancestor of the Gauripur-Raj Kavisekhar was decorated with the title of "Raja" in the middle of the 17th century and which the family enjoyed in posterity a certain writer would still persist in writing that the title of "Raja" was first conferred by the British Government on the present representative of the Gauripur-Raj Prabhat Chandra is altogether untenable. The mother of the present Raja was also received the title of "Rani" by the British Government. An account of the bestowal of "Rai Bahadurship" on Pratap Chandra the father of the present Raja of Gauripur is to be found in some detail in Vol. II of this book, p. 175-76. Those only who have not carefully studied the history of Gauripur-Raj can attempt to belittle the position of that family by asserting that their eminence and high status are of very recent origin. The conferment of the title of "Rajā" and "Rāni" to the representatives of the Gauripur family by the British Government in the 19th and 20th centuries can at best be taken as a recognition of the old

• Translated from original Persian by Abdul Jamad, Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.

status of this very ancient family which had the honour of enjoying the title of "Raja" from the time of Emperor Jahāngir.

It is a well-known fact that the ancestors of the Gauripur Raj rose to prominence by their close association, first with the Koch Behar kings and then by their valuable services under the Mughal Emperors and the East India Company. The same writer has perhaps sought to account for this eminence of the family only to an alleged marriage of Bulchandra Barua's daughter to Nazir Deo Khagendra Narain of Koch Behar. In support of this he quotes the following passage from the English translation of the 'Rajopākhyana' by Munshi Jadunath Ghosh or Jaynath Munshi:—"The late Nazir Deo again indulging in evil designs, requested the officers of the state to release the land that was his. To this they do not consent. At length by means of the little wealth he had hoarded, he got together a number of soldiers. There were some Sannyasis at Nageswari and Pairadanga, and others at Rangamati, where he had married the daughter of Bulchand Barua, whom he invited to join him, besides his former servants and his slaves.*"

Jadu Nath Ghose or Jaynath Munshi as he was called, was not the only writer of a history of Koch Behar. There are at least 2 more persons who also wrote such histories:—one about the same time as the above and other carried on up to the reign of Maharaja Nripendra Narain. After that Babu Harendra Narain Chaudhuri

* The Rajopakhyana or History of Kooch Behar by Moonshi Jadunath Ghosh, translated by Rev. R. Robinson, (1874) p. 135.

wrote a complete history of Koch Behar in the "Koch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements" published under the authority of the Koch Behar State in 1903. In the history of Babu Durga Das Majumdar who was a contemporary of Jay Nath Munshi, there is absolutely no mention whatsoever about the alleged marriage. Jaynath Munshi was a Bengali, a foreigner, but Babu Durga Das Majumdar was a local man—a Kayastha belonging to the same Samaj as the Gauripur family and it is not likely that he would forget to mention such an important event if ever it took place. The most authoritative report of the time by Chauvet and Marcar who were specially deputed by the British Government to enquire into the allegations against Nazir Deo Khagendra Narain does not contain any mention whatsoever of his marriage in the Gauripur family.

I think to refute the statement of marriage made by Jaynath Munshi in his "Rājopākhyān", it is necessary to go into the matter at some length and show how this mistaken idea originated. Nazir Deo Khagendra Narain, as far as could be ascertained, first sent his wife and family during the risky time of the war with the Koch kings and the Bhutias, to find refuge with Bulchandra in Rangamati—the then seat of the Gauripur Raj. It was at this time to make sure of the protection of the powerful family of Baruas that Nazir Deo's wife gave "বাপদাদা" to Bulchandra. This sort of foster relationship is in vogue in that part of the country and has some religious aspect. There is no distinction of caste in this foster relationship which prevails between different caste people e.g. Brahmins and Sudras or even with Muhammadans; but once such relationship is established,

it goes on for generations. Such relationship was established with the Gauripur family and the Bilasipara Zemindars, who are Brahmins, as also with the Rupsi family who are Sudras, in the last century and is being carried on even in the present day by the present representatives of those families. This is the foundation of the story of marriage and Jaynāth Munshi must have been led into this error by taking this foster relationship as a real one by the marriage. This is not at all improbable when the fact that he wrote the history more than 50 years after the “বাপদার” incident is taken into account. It may be safely deduced that he heard about “বেটা” from hearsay and naturally took Nazir Deo's wife to be a daughter of Bulchandra and the Nazir Deo's visits to Rangamati naturally corroborated the former impression.

Babu Harendra nārāyan Chaudhuri evidently relied on the passage in Jaynāth Munshi's history, but when the facts were pointed out to him he readily admitted this error. I understand that the present Raja of Gauripur has represented to the Koch Behar State pointing out the inaccuracies of the statement in Harendra Babu's compilation.

I fear, I have to mention a few more facts to refute the statement made by Jaynath Munshi. Had there really been such a marriage it would have been impossible to conceal this fact. As such alliances which had taken place before e.g. we mention one instance viz marriage between Chila Rāya, brother of a Koch king and Rām Rāy's daughter, a Kāyastha, which I have mentioned in Vol. II. The Gauripur Raj family are very orthodox and have confined their marriages to the Kāyasthas only and they were

and still are the leaders of the Kayastha Samaj in that part of the country.

In the geneological tree of the Gauripur family—a very old and fully reliable document, it is found that Bulchandra had 2 daughters Sarbesvari and Chandresvari and the name of the families to which they were married are also stated therein. One family is extinct and the other has still issues. Enquiries in Balarāmpur, the seat of Nazir Deo, have failed to elicit any information either about the name of the daughter of Bulchandra to whom Khagendra Narayan is alleged to have been married or any other fact which may even give a clue to such an alliance. In another History of Koch Behar it is found that it was a custom that the father of the girl who used to be married in the family of Koch kings was given the surname of “Kārji” and had there really been a marriage Bulchandra would have had that surname attached to his name.

In the face of all these authentic records, I fail to see how any reliance can be placed on the statement of Jaynath Munshi in his “Rajopākhyān”. As a matter of fact there is absolutely no reference to the matrimonial relation between Koch Behar and Gauripur families in contemporary Kulapanjis or geneological accounts and Buranjis.

APPENDIX V.

To be included in p. 183 at the end of Chap. III.

Pandit Harikrishna Sarma Sâstri of Bombay in his "Brāhmaṇotpatti-Mārtaṇḍa" writes.—
 "The Nāgar Brahmans of Chamatkārpur consist of 6 sections and the Gauḍa Brahmans into 12 sections. The Kayasthas have a similar number of sub-divisions as that of the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa. The twelve classes of Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas are :—
 1. Mālavi Gauḍa, 2. Śrī-Gauḍa, 3. Gauḍas residing on the banks of Gangā, 4. Hariānā Gauḍa, 5. Vāsishṭha, 6. Saurabha, 7. Dālbhya, 8. Sukhasena, 9. Bhaṭṭanāgar, 10. Śuryadhvaja, 11. Māthura and 12. Vālmika.* Of these, Mālavi Gauḍa, Śrī-Gauḍa, Gauḍa residing on the banks of the Ganges and Hariānā Gauḍas are still in existence. No trace of the remaining 8 classes among them can now be found. The Dālbhya, Sukhasena or Sakasena, Bhaṭṭa-Nāgara, Śuryadhvaja, Māthura and Vālmika are now bulked with the Kāyasthas and can be found in very many places.

* “নাগবাঃ ষড়্বিধা প্রোক্তাঃ চমৎকারপুরোক্তবাঃ ॥৩৯

গৌড়াশ্চ দ্বাদশপ্রোক্তাঃ কায়স্থান্তাবদেব হি :

তত্রাদৌ মালবী গৌড়া শ্রীগৌড়াশ্চ ততঃপরম্ ॥৪০

গঙ্গাতটস্থ-গৌড়াশ্চ হর্যাপা গৌড় এব চ ।

বাশিষ্ঠাঃ সৌরভাষ্টেব দালভ্যাঃ সুখসেনকাঃ ॥৪১

ভট্টনাগবগৌড়াশ্চ তথা স্বর্য়ধ্বজাহব্যাঃ

মাধুবাধ্যান্তথা গৌড়াঃ বাস্ত্রীকত্রাঙ্গপত্তথা ॥৪২”

Brāhmaṇotpatti-mārtaṇḍa (Samvat 1979.) p. 5.

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